

Election special

Inside: An eight page blueprint on the federal elections, including interviews with Dunstan, Chipp, Beasley and Fraser.

Land rip-off

Why is the government paying out \$20,000 annually to honorary crown land auctioneers in Canberra? See page 3.

Geriecstasy

Is Gerry Lib here to stay? A probing report on page 5.

And

- Lois Lane was a lesbian page 5
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Powerless radio

At its meeting last Thursday, the Campus Radio Station Committee choked any potential life that Radio ANU may have ever had. The committee, comprised of students, University Administrators and Radio Club Officials, rejected Judy Cooper, the SRC recommendation for the position of Director of Student Broadcasting, and hoisted in her place Peter Black, editor of the ANU Reporter. It seems the rejection of Cooper was founded in the Radio Club lobby, which was bitter over the SRC's dismissal of Patrick Power's application for DSB. The sad consequences of this politicking are twofold.

Firstly, and fortuitously for Administration, the universities silent but strong grasp on student politics has been tightened by the committee's decision. In appointing Black, the committee has installed an Administration employee (as editor of the Reporter) to the executive position in the Radio Club. By his performance on the Reporter, it is obvious that Black will do nothing to perturb the delicately balanced minds of University Administration. The Reporter is conservative, censorship is imposed and the staff find it difficult to work with Black, due to his inertia, and unwillingness to accept new ideas.

Secondly, control of half of the campus's media resources will be left in the hands of one man. This concentration of power will, in all probability, reduce the scope and effective-

ness of such media. Policy guidelines for the operation of Radio ANU may fall into categories already established for the Reporter and this is contrary to the values held by most of the students whose Radio Station it is.

The method employed by Black (who is a part time student) in gaining the position of Director of Student Broadcasting casts further doubt on his suitability for the position. When the SRC considered applications for DSB, in order to make recommendations to the Campus Radio Station Committee, Black's was not among them, despite the fact that he was at the very same SRC meeting!

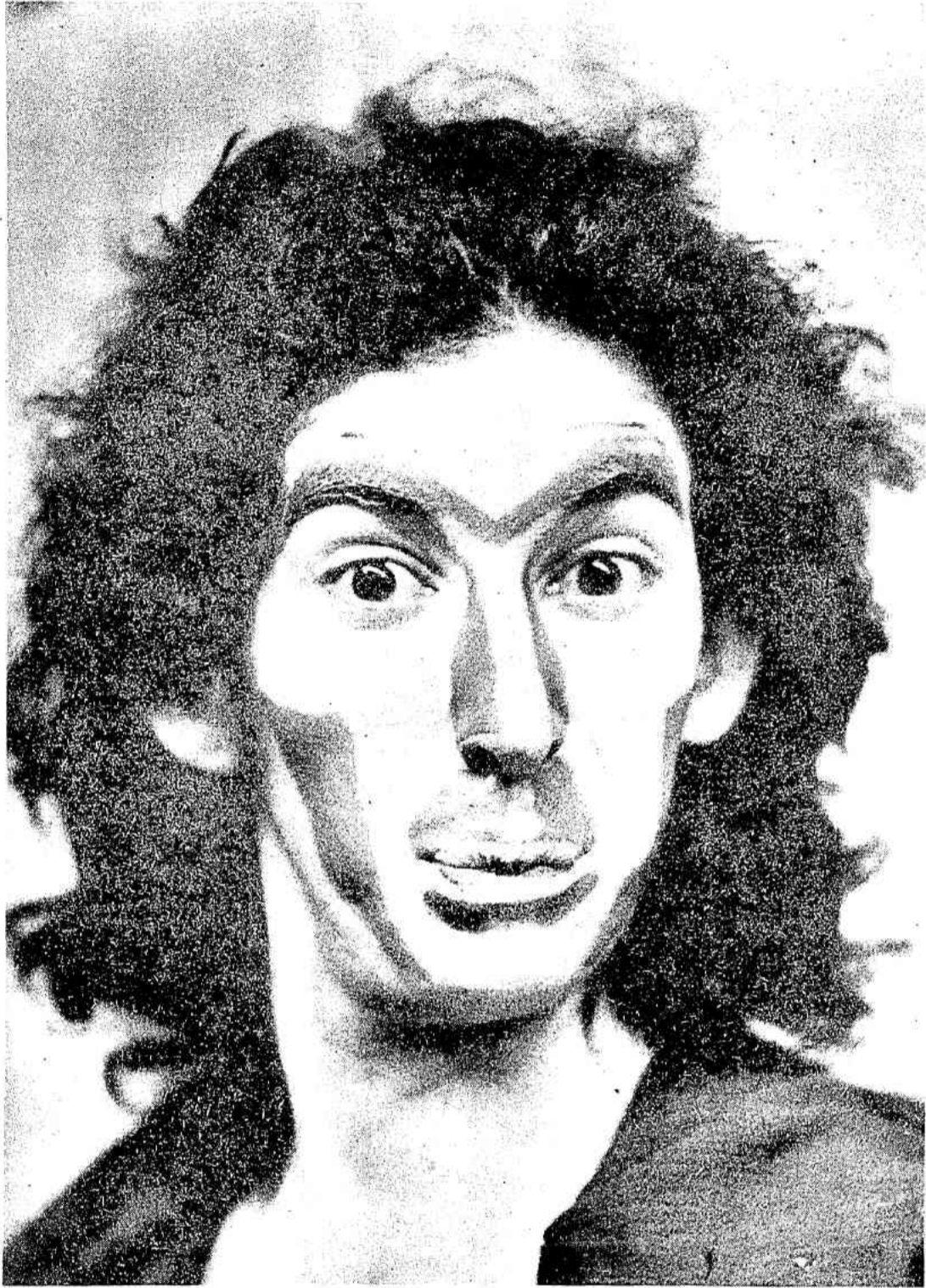
When Judy Cooper won the nomination, Black wrote directly to the committee suggesting that he was interested in the job, "if no one else was satisfactory".

Black later admitted that he was going all out for the job, but had avoided going to the SRC because he did not wish to be involved "in the grind mill of student politics and the denigration associated with it."

Black deliberately avoided the principal student body (the SRC) in order to gain power over the students' radio station. He felt by adopting this approach he had "nothing to lose, and everything to gain."

The only spark of life generated by the whole gloomy affair is that the appointment of Black is only an interim one till March 31, 1973. On that day Radio ANU may start to live again.

David Spratt



Robert Tate as Pride in the medieval morality play, 'Castles of Perseverance', playing nightly until Sunday on the Library-Asian Studies lawn, and reviewed on page 10.

ANU's ivory elephant

Bones of contention over the proposed student hall of residence have been buried by the students' watchdog, Rover Refshaug. Instinctively, those involved have chosen to stew in the frustrations sponsored by their association with the new hall. At no time in the three years of planning has the university community, and in particular students, been informed through the media of the political details. As the situation reaches demonstration proportions administrators sit back confident of the power of disinterest and ignorance within the ANU.

The new hall of residence is to be located between the new Union and Barry Drive. On a university/city interface, the site warranted an appropriate structural form. To facade an otherwise architecturally amorphous campus

was no easy task. The choice of Mr John Andrews was probably wise. A professor of architecture, he has an international reputation as one of Australia's best architects.

The challenge in Andrew's commission lay in an embodiment of an imaginative architectural form with a new sociological concept of student living.

In 1970 a university committee on student residence had presented a report that was ultimately accepted by the AUC. The committee's terms of reference were to consider the future residential needs of the undergraduate body and how these should most satisfactorily be met.

Drawing on an accommodation survey conducted at the ANU in 1968 by AUS and a fair cross section of the university community, the resid-

ence committee recommended that the new residence be based on a 12 student module with centralised kitchen and common room facilities. There was to be no full time supervision of the warden type and the main eating facilities were to be provided at the Union.

The committee took the view 'that the AUC can be persuaded that, at this stage of the University's residential development, it is appropriate to make a break with the existing pattern of halls of residence and affiliated colleges'.

The sum of \$1,100,000 was made available.

At the first users committee on Thursday 22 December 1970, Andrews spoke to his notional interpretation of the brief. Suggesting some amendments, the committee agreed to the layout of the building in principle.

By April 1971, after determined efforts to match the allocated cost per student to \$4,500, Andrews plans stood at \$5,950 per student. Faced with this discrepancy property and plans division, led by Registrar Dexter, acted to convince the ANU and the AUC that the allocated funds were unrealistic. 'It would be reasonable to press for the new type residence in the knowledge that the funds available would not give, say 250 places.'

However reconciliation of cost was not the only contentious issue. At this time the University Architect/Designer, Mr Wrigley, began documenting criticisms of Andrews' preliminary outline drawings. Also Dr Kent, a member of the Users Committee, was gathering momentum to become the most

Continued on page 12.

For (honorary) services rendered

There is nothing like a bit of old chummary in relationships between Government and business. Examples abound in almost any area where there's a bit of money to be made. To titillate your imaginations for this week Woroni brings you the nice little way the Government sells its land in Canberra.

Mr Ralph Hunt, our beloved Minister of the Interior, made the following reply to a question on notice from Kep Enderby:
L.J.Hooker and R.A.McKillop and Co act in conjunction as honorary auctioneers [for the sale of Crown Land in Canberra] on the understanding that the Department of the Interior meets the expenses incurred by the companies. In 1963 the agreed upon expenses were increased from \$200 to \$600 per day for each residential auction and to \$500 for each business auction. In 1969 the expenses were again reviewed and an amount of \$900 per day agreed upon.

The total sum paid in each of the last ten years is as follows: 62-63: \$1000, 63-64: \$6200, 64-65: \$8200, 65-66: \$9400, 66-67: \$7700, 67-68: \$9500, 68-69: \$13,400, 69-70: 20,700, 70-71: \$20,700, 71-72: \$19,800.

Of course it is nonsense anyway to consider Hookers and McKillops as honorary auctioneers. The 'expenses' are either a rake-off or they are a compensation for time lost and profits missed because the auctioneer was on other business. But if the government admits that they are

paying a private auctioneer (and such a piffling amount) then someone might ask questions or what's worse, draw conclusions. For example you could probably get a top-notch auctioneer for \$20,000 per year and on the 220 odd days that he wasn't selling land get him to keep the office clean. Or maybe devise some way of keeping the prices down a bit.

No conclusions whatsoever are drawn from the fact that the President of the ACT branch of the Liberal Party is said by some malicious people to be a director of R.A.McKillop & Co.

It seems rather strange that people who are acting in an 'honorary' capacity should have 'agreed upon expenses' even if you do not consider the scale of these expenses. And enquiries by Kep have shown that there are no actual costs involved for the 'honorary' auctioneers in putting on the auction. Ads for the auctions and rental of the Albert Hall are paid directly by the Dept. of the Interior on its own account.

A firm like L.J.Hooker is supposedly directed at making a profit. One is, of course always aware of the strong yearnings some of these profit-orientated institutions have to do some public service for nix but it does seem rather strange that they would lend one of their top auctioneers to the Government for about five weeks a year for nothing, except of course the piffling expense money. No one would of course draw any conclusions from the fact that the Government and L.J.Hookers might happen to have a different interest as far as land-sales are concerned.

The elections.. 'What would happen if...'

In a disappointing end to an excellent conference, two journalists and a lecturer gave a "what would happen if..." dissertation on the Australian Federal elections.

Peter Samuel of the Bulletin suggested that if Labor won, the economy would nose-dive very quickly because, stupidly, Labor men were beginning to believe in what they were saying. In the areas of social welfare and education not much would happen. Liberals would probably abolish conscription within three months anyway, Samuel continued.

Humphrey McQueen felt that it was better not to vote at all as the Liberals were terrible but the Labor Party could be even more imperialist in its policy towards South East Asia.

Labor, he said, would carry out the same imperialist policy, only with more effectiveness (see his article in this issue of Woroni).

Mungo McCallum (of the Nation-Review) rubbished McQueen, saying he was a middle-class academic putting forward views, on the ideal society but without suggesting

realistic proposals to attain it.

In the meantime, he said, the Labor Party would be of greater assistance than the Liberals for the poor. There would be a positive improvement in social welfare policy.

If Labor should lose, Samuel and McCallum agreed, Whitlam would probably remain leader of the Opposition.

In an earlier session, Liz Reid suggested that the women's vote could be of huge importance. She very much doubted that Sonia's baby, Deborah, would give the Liberal Party much of an advantage.

"Women are having babies everyday. The sight of another one is not going to alter their votes," she declared.

This view was in sharp contrast to that of other speakers who stated that the personal images of the leaders would decide the election. And despite Liz and her optimists, the cynics appeared to be in the majority at the conference.

This first conference organised by the ANU Politics Society proved a great success and has set a good precedent for an annual event. Hopefully copies of the talks will be made available.



For heaven's sake

Towards the end of second term last year, greater interest was aroused among E.U. members in the work of the Holy Spirit in Christians, and so that we might be more informed, much of the third term programme concentrated on various aspects of this. These meetings greatly built up and encouraged those attending and this was a time of much personal blessing for some members.

Soon after the present committee took office, the prayer secretary, Greg Unwin, was forced to suspend his studies due to ill health, and returned home for the remainder of the year. Chris Barnes was then invited to become the acting prayer secretary for the duration of Greg's absence.

On Saturday, 4th September, a barbecue and bush-walk was held at Casuarina Sands and was attended by eleven-twelve members. The outing was an opportunity for sharing fun and friendship on a level other than specifically Christian, and as such was enjoyed by all.

The Valedictory Dinner was held on 15th October at the home of Dr. and Mrs Faulkner. After a splendid meal, four members in their final under-graduate year spoke briefly on their contact with E.U. This was followed by an address on the practical outworkings of love from Dr. Faulkner. The 1972 IVF Conference took place in Perth on the theme of Communicating the Gospel. ANU's delegates were Ian Conley and Chris Barnes.

Orientation Week this year got off to a fine start with the wide distribution of an E.U. handbook. The bookstall in the Union was quite well patronised and although not many contacts were made through this it was considered worthwhile. It has been suggested that a bookstall might be run one day a week throughout term and in Bush Week. The Tuesday public meeting, unfortunately, was poorly attended because notice of it was inadvertently missing from the University O.W. handbook. The emphasis this year was mainly on personal contact with freshers within the halls and colleges, and where this has been continued beyond the early weeks of term, it has been successful.

The first term programme concentrated on various

aspects of Christian love, treating such topics as "Sex and the Student", and "Love and the family". This theme was continued in the annual camp, held at Sturt Island on the weekend of April 14th - 16th. Rev. Paul Barnett gave excellent addresses on "Christian Love in the Community", introducing the idea of buzz groups (or discussion groups) prior to the formal study session. It was generally felt that there was too much unorganised leisure time at the camp and that consequently the group fellowship was impaired. Another factor which detracted from the fellowship was that of couples spending too much time with each other rather than with the group.

This year the committee has delegated the task of organising 2nd and 3rd term programmes to sub-committees and this move has so far proved quite successful. Opinions about holding Friday night meetings in homes off-campus have varied, although such meetings have generally been well-supported.

The IVF travelling graduate, Doug Bridge, has visited Canberra twice this year and has spent much of his time getting to know people and helping the newly-founded CAE Christian Fellowship find its feet. Contact with suburban churches has increased a little this year, with the Burton cell group conducting a service at the North Canberra Baptist Church on July 2nd. A second service in the same church will be led by the Burgmann cell groups in third term.

Recently Bev Bartram organised an appeal within E.U. to raise a donation to send to the WUS Bangladesh Appeal. Members and others were very generous and a sum of \$115.50 has been forwarded.

In the past 12 months E.U. as a whole has experienced both times of great blessing and times when love and understanding between members have broken down. Yet we cannot live in the past, as St. Paul reminds us in Philippians 3: 13: "forgetting what lies behind and straining forward to what lies ahead, I press on toward the goal for the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus."

Let us then look forward to the new year placing our hope in the Lord. "Rejoice in the Lord always, again I will say, Rejoice." (Philippians 4:4)

Lyn Saunders
Secretary A.N.U.E.U.

Semesters

The ANUSA submission on semesters, reprinted in the last issue of Woroni, has had significant effect in high places, and those students who are genuinely worried about the possible bad effects of semesters on ANU can take heart. But the issue is not dead, and the proximity of the exams must not deter those who are sufficiently concerned to continue action.

The Board of the School of General Studies has done the obvious thing - it set up a committee. Not a university-wide committee, representative of all the interests involved - sport, culture and postgraduate students are groups with no official direct representation on the committee. But at least a committee with students strongly represented, though they form less than half, of course.

The committee is composed of the Sub-Deans from each Faculty, one student from each FEC and Professor Dixon. These students are now supposed to represent student opinion in each faculty. The Board was worried that stud-

ents might not back the opinions expressed in the ANUSA submission. The SRC has endorsed it. The General Meeting this week will be asked to endorse it. Will that convince them? Probably not. What is necessary is that you seek out your FEC representative and tell him what you think. If you are concerned, do this quickly - the committee has to report to the Board at or before its November meeting. The list of FEC representatives can be found in Michael Mark's Bureaucracy Supplement, included in this issue of Woroni.

The Sports Union has also made submissions to the Board of the School, feeling that the introduction of the semester pattern could have a disastrous effect on sport at the ANU. Students can read copies at the Sport Union Office. Further copies of the ANUSA submission are available at the SRC Office.

It appears that CAC and the Halls and Colleges are also preparing a statement on the effects to them of the semester pattern. So, if you have strong views in these areas, seek out a CAC or JCRC member and help form opinion in these areas.

McClelland on the media

Senator McClelland while questioned at Parliament House last week said that under a Labor Government he would most likely receive a portfolio responsible for the media. He said that besides TV and radio, he hoped that the portfolio would also embrace film development, news and information (Commonwealth Film Unit).

He said that the ALP regarded communication vital in the improving of the quality of life and the Labor Caucus would create a new ministry to deal with it. (It presently comes under the jurisdiction of the PMG)

Labor Party policy on communication would allow for the independence of the ABC

by making amendments to the Broadcasting and Television Act and also finance provided on a triennium basis.

Senator McClelland hoped that the sponsoring of a new Australian film industry would come under the auspices of this new ministry. Finance made available at the present time to the Australian film industry is \$1 million, whereas in Canada it is \$10 million, in U.K. \$5 million. He hoped that the finance in the beginning would be at least doubled.

20 years under a conservative government has internalised the apparatus of the average Australian which in many circumstances had resulted in a stultifying of native talent. He said that the ABC would have to become a pace setter for commercial programmes in general.

P. Stuart Foss

The strike of apathy

Student apathy "strikes" again -

Vladimir: Well? Shall we go?
Costrogon: Yes, let's go (They do not move). -

"Waiting for Godot" - Samuel Beckett
Of the 1000 odd copies of a questionnaire distributed around the halls, designed to gauge student opinion on the suggestion that "the option be made available for hall students to eat lunch in the Union", only 135 replies were received. This cannot be regarded as a large enough sample, but it is worth noting that the majority (65%) were in favour of the idea.

The remaining 35% had reservations mainly relating to the quality of food in the Union (it is expected that this should improve when the new Union comes into operation).

Burgmann College was most active in answering the quest-

ionnaire, for which most of them should be congratulated. The following are a sample of some replies from Burgmann: From someone who is pre-tentious enough to think he speaks for the masses: "In Colleges we consider ourselves more superior people, than those who frequent the union: Perhaps if special facilities were provided for us - the upper class of university students - we might consider coming over".

From a Liberal voter! We don't wish to associate ourselves with the Union ratbags and drunkards. Continued Apartheid!

Finally someone who appreciates the ability of those who manage the Union: "Such a system could never be organised efficiently - no matter what you say. Your general lack of ability to manage the rest of the Union well is enough proof in itself".

Long live student apathy, Laurel Smith.

WORONI

Full-time Editor for 1973.

Duties: The Editor will produce 25 eight-page issues, on a total budget of \$5,000.

Salary: \$30 per week, to be paid from mid-February to mid-October, plus \$5 staff expenses per issue.

Applications: In writing, giving details of experience, to President, SRC Office, by Friday 20 October.

The SPA makes a point

Dimitrov in 1935 in Comintern argued that broad popular fronts, embracing every sector of progressive society needed to be formed in every country to answer the particular peril of the day — fascism. Dimitrov did his thing arguing from an orthodox Marxist and Stalinist viewpoint in a world where industrialised countries had clearly delineated classes and the third world was still in national bondage. He was right to do so. The primacy of the anti-fascist effort and the class struggle were clearly apparent.

In the post-war industrialised west, the impact of mass-education at increasingly higher levels, the consumption ethic and the relief for most people (bar pensioners, aborigines and large working class families) from the lack of staples has at the very least blurred class distinctions. Subjectively many white collar workers regard themselves as "middle-class". For industrial activists this has given rise to confusion over goals, methods, aims. Petty-bourgeois would-be revolutionaries and "anarchist" crypto-liberals from the Australia Party to the Communist Party have come to imagine that solutions exist outside a power context. That is, necessary reform is possible this side of the acquisition of state power.

What the argument boils down to is, is it possible or necessary for the left to dispense with their side source of power, the economic power of the unions? Do the anarchists and liberals have a more effective replacement? Is there a better way to organise, a more effective and powerful way, other than industrial organisation?

The Socialist Party of Australia says not. Edgar Ross, now an S.P.A. heavy and one of the first communists to be eased out of the C.P.A. in the current split sees this point as the major parting point with the Aarons group. Ross says Aarons was right in trying to formulate an Australian way to socialism in response to the disjunction amongst the communist countries and the decline in C.P.A. numbers and morale with the advent of what he sees as the "relative" affluence, post-war. But says Ross, Aarons went too far. He "abandoned the fundamental concepts" upon which the C.P.A. was based and rejected the Soviet model which Ross says, has at least brought about socialism. The S.P.A. attacks the Communist Party for scattering its shots by placing undue emphasis on the efficacy of middle-class "cause" groups, neglecting the "united front of the working class." This concern led the C.P.A. away from the working class and so from its real power in industrial organisation.

Ross goes on to argue that C.P.A. fuzzy-mindedness over worker's control in a capitalist state lead to compromises with capitalism. The dilution of the party's vanguard role was, says Ross, anti-Leninist. To deny the essence of a vanguard party is to down grade the relevance of the Bolshevik Revolution to revolutionary practice. This in turn helps further the split in international socialism by leading the C.P.A. away from the U.S.S.R.

While Ross can be almost comical in his defence of the primacy of the U.S.S.R. and can without a fig of relevant criticism write off the Dubcek experiment, he has a point in hammering the necessity of an industrial base (in primary, secondary and tertiary industry). In the chaos and concern over the



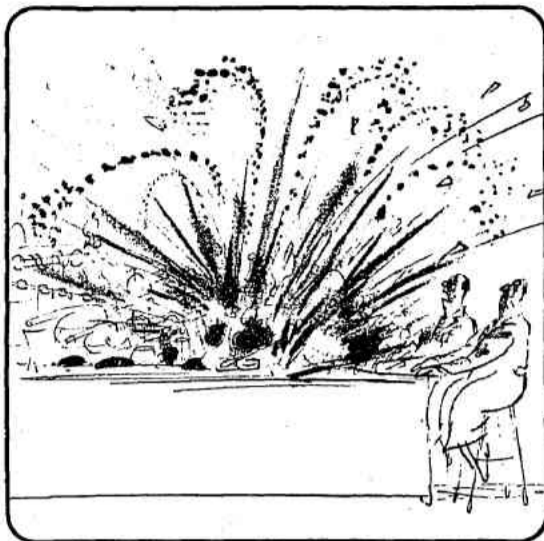
apparent permanence of corporate capitalism and the grave shortcomings and mistakes in the U.S.S.R. and China, and the resulting unknowingness over what the future will bring, the S.P.A. has a point worthy of notice by laborites, socialists, communists and all comers. That is, power, if only to bargain with, is essential if the left is to produce change. The only power the dispossessed have, be they labourers or civil servants, is economic power. The only way to harness this power is industrial organisation. This is not a new idea nor is it peculiarly Marxist. Keir Hardie, the I.W.W. even Bob Hawke, say and have said the same thing. Beneath the Aarons-Clancy cat-fight this emerges. Join your union when you leave ANU.

Unions are only effective so long as the membership can see their usefulness and rationale. Half the work-force is unorganised. Every graduate becomes an employee. The university left, whether it agrees with the S.P.A. aims or not, needs to look to its future and activities in the world outside.

A. Robinson.

Wanted

Editor for Togatus, student newspaper of University of Tasmania, for 1973. Salary: \$2,200 plus expenses, with tenure: Feb. 1, 1973 to Oct 31, 1973. Applications (close 22 October) to Executive Officer, Union Building, Tasmania University, Sandy Bay, Tasmania



Professor Titterton, I stand corrected.

The not quite so oppressed

It's a long way from Parliament House Lawn to Potts Point.

The new editor of "Identity", a quarterly voicing the plight of Australian aborigines, is John Newfong. During the period that the Aboriginal Embassy waved its solitary flag in the arse of Parliament, Newfong lived in a green tent under conditions of not undue hardship.

After the non-camping Ordinance and the subsequent bust up of the Embassy, Newfong moved to Sydney and to his new appointment. The offices at the quay end of George Street seem strangely incongruous with the caustic and so does the fatuous secretary that sits filing her nails all day due to the lack of anything to do.

Newfong, snugly ensconced in his new Pott's Point apartment hardly bothers to turn up for work. In fact, according to his secretary, he is *never* in the office.

I had made an appointment with Newfong a few weeks ago to talk to him about the aboriginal vote which I had hoped to include in the Woroni Federal Elections issue. Turning up at the appointed time, I found him not only absent but, again according to his secretary, he hadn't kept any appointments at all that day.

Just what, may I ask, does John Newfong do to earn his wage: a substantial wage too, \$9,000 pa.!

It certainly is a long way from the Parliament House lawn to Pott's Point particularly when black kids are starving to death, not only in the outback, but even in Redfern. How in the fuck does "Identity" deserve such a large budget (reputed to be \$50,000 pa.) when the Aboriginal Medical Centre in Redfern can't get enough to buy vegetables to feed the malnutrition cases.

Australia for sale

The Government's attempts to discourage foreign investment were not sufficient to develop an economic nationalism in Australia, according to Mr Edward St John.

Mr St John, ex-M.P., was speaking to a tiny group of students at Coptland Lecture Theatre on Friday night a week ago.

In what amounted to a small seminar rather than a

lecture, Mr St John supported Mr Whitlam's criticism of the Government proposals, submitting that they were in no ways positive, for no attempt to raise capital to regain Australian ownership was included.

Mr St John suggested that Australia should revalue the exchange rate upwards to stop the huge inflow of overseas capital, and use the stocks of international reserves to buy back foreign investment.

A comprehensive policy on an allowable percentage of foreign ownership, Australian membership of Boards of Directors, and a loan system for technical know-how, is needed urgently along the lines of the Japanese or Swedish system.

For trendy three of Mr St John's audience it was an interesting and worthwhile talk; for me as organiser it was a disastrous embarrassment especially in Copland.

Andrew Podger.

Segregating the sexes

Two people I've heard of have applied to move to Bruce from Garran, because they want to live in rooms near each other — this being almost impossible in Garran as next year one building will be all male and the other nearly all female. Dr Short's reaction to this planned move was to state: "If Bruce Hall rejected them, they then could not be readmitted to Garran as this would be accepting another Hall's rejects." — thus leaving our friends without accommodation if they apply for Bruce and are refused. Sometimes one gets the impression Dr Short is having a competition between his ego and his hall to see which he can make the most paranoid.

Digging on Duncan

News has it from Adelaide that the Scotland Yard investigation has dredged up reliable witnesses to the Duncan Murder. It is not surprising that the same three names — Clayton, Cawley, and Hudson — again stand accused. These charming gentlemen of the law not content with anonymity, tried threats on the lives of some witnesses, so much so that they actually frightened them into giving evidence to the — can you guess — police! One of the people involved in the Woroni investigation of the case was also threatened.

Fighting for the right to life

Abortive First General Meeting of the ANU Right to Life Association.

We walked into the value free halls of John XXIII and were immediately approached and asked which side we supported. We replied we had come with open minds. So the meeting began, with the reading of the constitution, already drawn up by some fifteen people at a non-public 'inaugural meeting'. Clarification was called for on two issues: 2 (iii) what were the 'true issues' considered to be, for instance did they include pacifism; and 2 (vi) did these 'programmes of action' include the promotion of contraceptives to prevent the necessity for abortion. We were informed that only members had speaking rights; we joined. Who wouldn't agree with these humanitarian principles?

2. The Association shall be non-denominational and non-party political with the following objects:

- (i) To provide an organisational structure for collective citizen action in defence of the right to life, particularly that of the unborn child;
- (ii) To develop and carry out an educational programme directed towards legislators who make public policy; towards opinion leaders who affect the making of public policy; and towards the general public which affects both groups;
- (iii) To act as a vehicle for persuasive programmes of civic action designed to focus lawmakers' attention on the true issues at stake whenever an effort is made to change existing laws which defend the right to life;
- (iv) To awaken a sense of responsibility within the community and to initiate programmes of action directed towards the alleviation of all medical, social and economic conditions which might lead individuals to deny another's right to life;
- (v) To co-operate with other organisations in pursuance of the above objects.

Our abstention from the vote on the constitution was recorded and we were asked to postpone discussion until

general business.

The next item on the agenda was the election of the executive; with the aid of a guiding paranoiac heavy from the Canberra Right to Life Association. Three men were elected to the positions of President, Vice-President and Secretary. Somosi nominated Hackman as publicity officer, pointing out that there were no women on the executive, and didn't they after all have a vital interest in this question. This was squashed by the immediate reply that over 50% of abortions were male foetuses (Oh women!) and furthermore they did not want to make 'sexist' divisions on a human issue. In addition Hackman's support of the aims was called into question on the basis of a few minutes acquaintance. Our reply was that we could assure them that women are involved in human issues, and that in a democratic society membership of one group does not necessarily preclude membership of another. The Right to Life Association had as far as we could see humanitarian principles which did not necessarily clash with those of another such as the Abortion Law Reform Association. Opinion within a group should be sufficiently flexible to accommodate many viewpoints. Within the ALRA it is possible to disagree with abortion as a solution, while advocating the relaxation of laws. Obviously contraception is the answer to the problem. What we wanted to know was how the R to LA stood on this question. Hackman was defeated.

One woman was voted to the executive as treasurer, since "we must not only not be sexist, we must also seem not to be sexist", which appeared fairly contradictory to a speech made by the same woman a few minutes earlier.

A motion was put to make contraception an issue. This was rejected with such cogent arguments as "we might as well discuss smoking and housing". We failed to convince them that smoking and housing were hardly in the same category as contraceptive measures. The meeting broke up with the motion that we should all be celibate.

Thea Hackman and Robert Somosi

HOBART PLACE PHARMACY

In Marcus Clarke Street (off University Avenue)

Check our prices for Toothpastes, Deodorants Soaps, etc. before going to the supermarket.

At concession prices we beat them all

Some odds & ends at half price

LETTERS

Podger...sneaking back into retirement

Sir,
I am writing to you with regard to the article on the AUS August Council, written by your truly famous journalist, Andrew Podger.

The article contained many gross inaccuracies in fact and unbelievably poor value judgements were contained in it. Nevertheless, as one of the persons attacked in the article, I do not wish to defend myself, but to defend the National Officers of the Union who have come under campaigning attacks from the scurrilous pen of this aging student politician.

I wish to make the following points:

a) That there would not be a National Union left to aspire to if it had not been for the efforts of the present incumbents of National Officer positions who valiantly fought off the DLP inspired secession moves at Queensland and RMIT. The additional increase of more than \$8,000 generated by keeping Queensland in the Union, compares favourably with the projected surplus of \$5,000 for 1972. The \$5,000 which RMIT were not going to pay, along with Queensland and Wollongong, adds up to nearly \$15,000 without which AUS would have ceased to exist.

b) It is hard to believe that Mr Podger was at August Council. He stated that ANU delegates had the greatest of all influences on Council. If he had bothered to read who moved the key motions, who prepared the documentation for major changes, and where the changes in philosophy stemmed from, he would see that ANU were responsible for practically nothing except some good chairmanship and good humour from Refshauge. Most major changes are attributed directly to this year's national officers.

c) The deschooling philosophy was initiated and developed in AUS during 1971, and gave birth to the 1972 Education Policy, printed in March this year. For Podger to say that we can look forward to new radical education 'deschooling' philosophies in 1973, accurately dates his participation in the Union and his appreciation of what AUS is doing.

d) I understand that the National Officers — two from AUS — have aired their dissatisfaction with Podger's superficial, uninformed analysis. Hence all I can suggest is that it would be to the benefit of all and sundry, if he snuck back into retirement. The sooner, the better!

Yours sincerely,
Ken Newcombe,
President.

No vendettas for the Son of ANU

Sir,
When Andrew Podger arrived at ANU in 1970, Sydney University was the centre of the world. Obviously it has since shifted to ANU, or so one would think on reading Andrew's account of AUS August Council.

Although a son of ANU myself, I must say that Andrew exaggerates the influence of ANU at August Council. He also enters the arena of fiction when he refers



He says it worked when Sonia did it.

to a "personal vendetta" by President Ken Newcombe against me — both Ken and I reject this assertion as totally untrue. Andrew's impressions at his first Council for years may well have been different if he had known the Union and its personalities better.

Yours sincerely,
Andrew Bain,
Education Vice-President.

Correcting just a few inaccuracies

Brother Paul,
While not wishing to comment on other sections of Andrew Podger's article on AUS in your Friday 8th September edition I would like to correct a few inaccuracies regarding the Abschol department and its future.

Abschol will remain the Aboriginal Affairs section of the new Race Relations department which will also incorporate some of the present activities of the PNG department which has been abolished. There will be a black field officer but they are not to run Abschol as such. The field officer's main role will be one which is tied down with as little bureaucracy and office work as possible. Their job is to investigate and expose the current situation existing in black communities as well as to liaise with local Abschol/anti-racist groups on campus to assist in planning action programmes to assist black communities where requested.

The activities of the Race Relations department will become more concerned with white education and the elimination of institutional racism particularly in the education system. This role has evolved after much thinking and discussion about what the role of a white organisation should be. As many blacks, both here and in America have reiterated many times the role of the white activist is in the white society fighting racism there. The new department will also, where possible, act as a financial and information resource centre for black activists.

Bryan Havenhand

Hell-bent on discovering the truth

Dear Paul,
I am writing regarding your editorial (of course I only assume it to be yours) in Woroni, September 8.

It is difficult to conduct any sort of rational discussion with someone who writes as emotionally as yourself, and with someone so hell-bent to discover "facts" which fit pre-conceived theories and prejudices.

However, I must point out that there was no need for you to have denied the statement reproduced in the editorial ("the author has personally admitted to me, etc."). It was a statement made by R.J., whom you met in my office, not by yourself. If you had read my article carefully you would have had little difficulty in deducing this. R.J. knew whom it referred to and acknowledges that it is an accurate report and comment on what he said in the presence of a solicitor.

It still fascinates me that someone who has university degrees in science can be so insensitive to truth, balance and fair play. Do you really still maintain that your report of the O'Leary affair was accurate and fair? Does it interest you to know that it has now been established that O'Leary's personal equity in the \$158,000 worth of property still in his name is only about \$6,000? Do you still argue that a just person could have written the headline in which, without the slightest evidence, O'Leary was accused of 'graft'?

I only wish you could understand how you are damaging the cause you believe in by the carelessness and wildness with which you write.

Yours sincerely,
Stewart Cockburn
The Adelaide Advertiser.

Forgetting the bar-side comment

Dear Sir,
I was puzzled by a remark in an article in "Woroni" of 8th September that I had "passed off the ANU as one of the greatest disasters of

post-war Australia". It is true that it was referred to as a "bar-side comment" and it is true that I have said some odd things in my time at the bar-side and elsewhere and that I have fortunately forgotten many of them. However, I doubt very much whether I could, even there, have made a comment so utterly at variance with my firmly held conviction.

Yours sincerely,
H.C. Coombs.

'I find it deeply humiliating and frustrating...'

Sir,
Last August I wrote an article for Woroni on Action for World Development. Since then two issues of Woroni have appeared and it has not been included.

Woroni has in the past taken a strong stand against censorship — but this form of political censorship strikes me as far more dangerous than any cutting of films or banning of books, carried out by the government. At least they must give public account of what they've censored — we know what has been banned — and so we can criticize them. And we do know something of their criteria for suppressing or allowing material.

The general principle I would advocate is that Woroni, using some discretion, should publish most of what it gets. If people feel an article is badly written or biased they will write in and criticize it if they feel strongly enough — that's their responsibility. But it is most important for people who do feel strongly about something to have their views subjected to public scrutiny and criticism.

I see the role of Woroni as not being the organ for a particular group of students to put forward and campaign for the reform of society, but as a place for discussion. By all means campaign on the issues you feel important — but remember that there are other things which concern other students. They count too.

I find it deeply humiliating and frustrating to have something which concerns me and my friends so deeply dismissed as a non-issue.

Could you please let me know what's happened to my article and the whole issue of development so that I at least know.

Yours sincerely,
Ann Pickering.

Scraping the bottom of the barrel

Sir,
The lives of Uganda's 80,000 Asians are clearly in danger as there is no predicting what the maniac President Amin will do next. But Australia refuses to give any more than token assistance in this critical situation. While it welcomes with open arms, right wing fanatics and terrorists because they have a white skin our government in typical racist fashion tries to accept as few non-Europeans as possible. And those that are accepted are usually Eurasians, so that they are half white.

This policy of scraping the bottom of the barrel in Europe while rejecting the cream of the non-European world, is clearly racist. Nearly all the East African Asians can speak English and have a reasonable standard of education. They would therefore be able to easily adapt to the Australian way of life, and Australia would benefit from their skills.

Don't let us use that old racist defence cry which states that every nation has the right to determine the nature of its future population — or put more bluntly — to determine who it will exclude on racial grounds. Was the pre-1788 Australian Aboriginal nation ever given the chance to determine whether it would be prepared to welcome immigrants whose descendants 200 years later would amount to 13 million?

Therefore as a step towards morality, Australia should accept all the Asians who are forced to leave Uganda. They only number 80,000, an insignificant number when it is seen that more than 100,000 white immigrants have arrived in Australia nearly every year since World War II. To reject these Asians therefore, is nothing more than a cold blooded exercise in racism, especially as they could end up being massacred by a desperate and insane President Amin.

I ask all those with a conscience to write to Dr. Forbes the Immigration Minister and demand that he accept all the Uganda Asians as immigrants, and as soon as possible before any of them are killed. Better still, stand outside an immigration office or outside Parliament in angry demonstration against racism in immigration. Dr. Forbes' address is c/- Parliament House, Canberra, and his underemployed staff deserves to get a little

Parliament House with placards work-in the form of answering angry letters. Remember, this is an election year.

Yours against racism,
John Goodman,

The uses of leisure and a not too crowded program

Dear Sir,
Enclosed is a programme of events for the conference of Australia & New Zealand Student Health Association and the Australian Association of University Counsellors to be held in Canberra from January 21-26, 1973.

It is our hope that many students will be able to attend. There will be papers circulated to all attending prior to the conference rather than being read there. The emphasis will then be on small group discussions where each person can present ideas. Student opinion in these groups will be important in formulating ideas on how to organise the services of the future.

Could any student wishing to attend see our secretary Mrs Kearney, at the Health Service in the next month or so.

Yours sincerely,
University Health Service.

Sunday, Jan. 21, Evening.
Executive Meetings.

Monday, Jan. 22
"Student services in the 1980's" am. The Student's changing environment (biological, social, economic, educational)

pm. Changing professional roles. Evening: Presidents' night.

Tuesday Jan. 23
am. Changing sexual mores and their consequences.

pm. Overseas health services. Counselling and medical problems of overseas students.

Evening: Films.
Wednesday, Jan. 24
am. The uses of leisure. The crowded curriculum.

pm. Lake picnic, Tours. Evening: Free.
Thursday, Jan. 25
am & pm. The causes and management of stress; economic difficulties, career opportunities.

Evening: Buffet dinner (informal).

Friday, Jan. 26
am. Drugs and Society; cannabis; relaxation therapy. pm. General Meetings of ANZSHA and AAUC. Plenary session.

WORLD PREMIERE
Simultaneous with
SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE

**BARRY CROCKER
BARRY HUMPHRIES
PETER COOK
SPIKE MILLIGAN
DICK BENTLEY
DENNIS PRICE in**

**"THE ADVENTURES
of
BARRY MCKENZIE"**

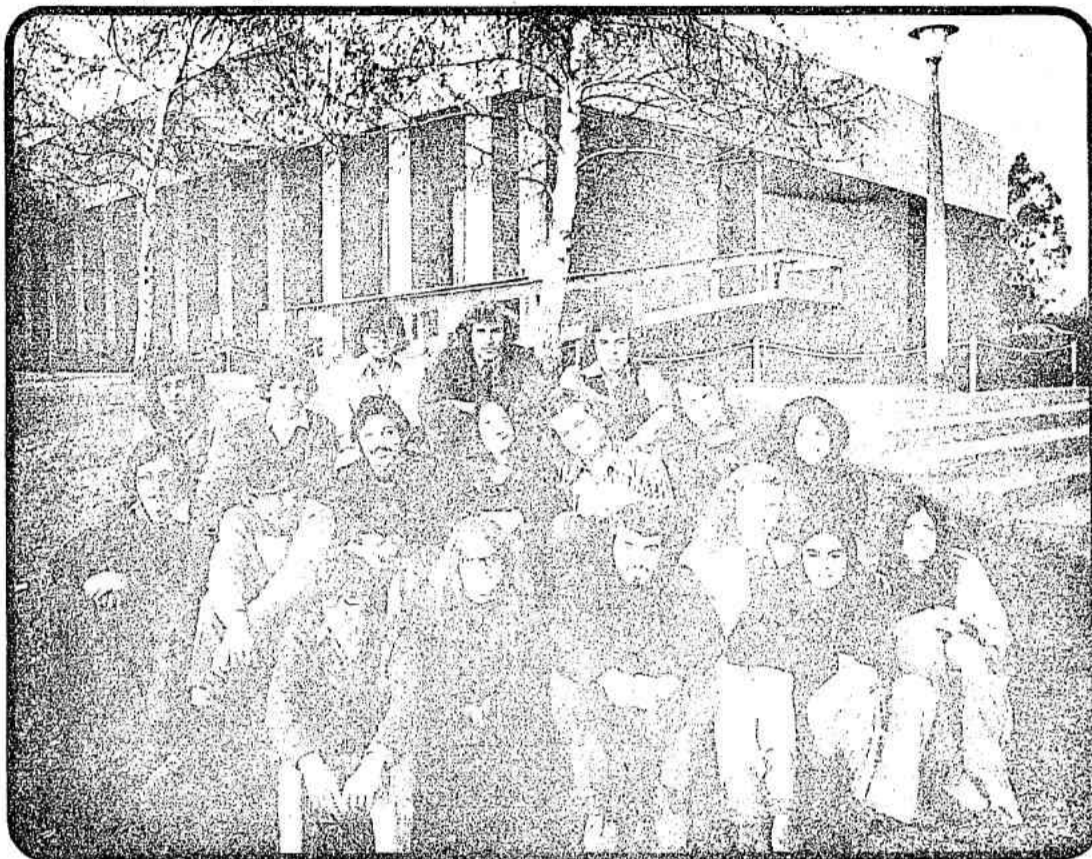
Nightly at 8; matinees at 12 on Tues.
to Thurs, and at 5 on Fri. and Sat.
Phone 497979 for reservations

CENTER CINEMA

STUDENTS' ASSOC.

SRC. Left back-J. Grimau, R. Refshauge, C. Clayton; Second row-P. Foss, L. Morris, L. Karavis, J. Clapburn, R. Maloney, A. Podger. Bottom left-M. Marks, H. Drichsma, J. Bishop, (Undergraduate rep. on Council now M. Wright, J. Corbett, J. Bottoms, D. Wright, K. McErwin, R. Ball. Missing-L. Bomford, S. Padgham and A. McCredie.

Designed to inform the uneducated of the machinations more commonly known as the ANUSA, The Union, Sports Union and student participation in university administration, in the hope that students will know where they fit into the system.



Function of the ANUSA, the SRC and their committees

The Students' Association is formed from all undergraduates in the University about 4000 students. The chief executive officer of the Association is the President (elected to a full-time position in September each year); he also becomes President and Chairman of the SRC, which is the executive of the Students' Association. All the SRC's decisions are able to be

overruled by general meetings of the ANUSA, but are not automatically brought to a meeting unless they are of special importance to all students. (e.g. Semesters, Selection of Vice-Chancellor, Teacher evaluation, Aboriginal Embassy, Radio Station, Conscriptio issue etc.)

The SRC is composed of a) 14 elected members: one from each faculty,

one from Forestry, and eight general representatives (they are elected each year in April). b) Three ex-officio members appointed to the SRC - the President Woroni editor, and undergraduate representative on Council. c) Co-opted members appointed by the SRC, either because of their position (e.g. Cultural Affairs Officer, Abschol, etc.) or for special expertise.

The ANUSA and the SRC, on its behalf, works for the betterment of students, in areas such as welfare, education, social issues, Bush Week, Orientation Week, special activities, publications, assistance to and encouragement of clubs and societies, etc. (see Table 1) Most of the work of the SRC is carried out by members with specific

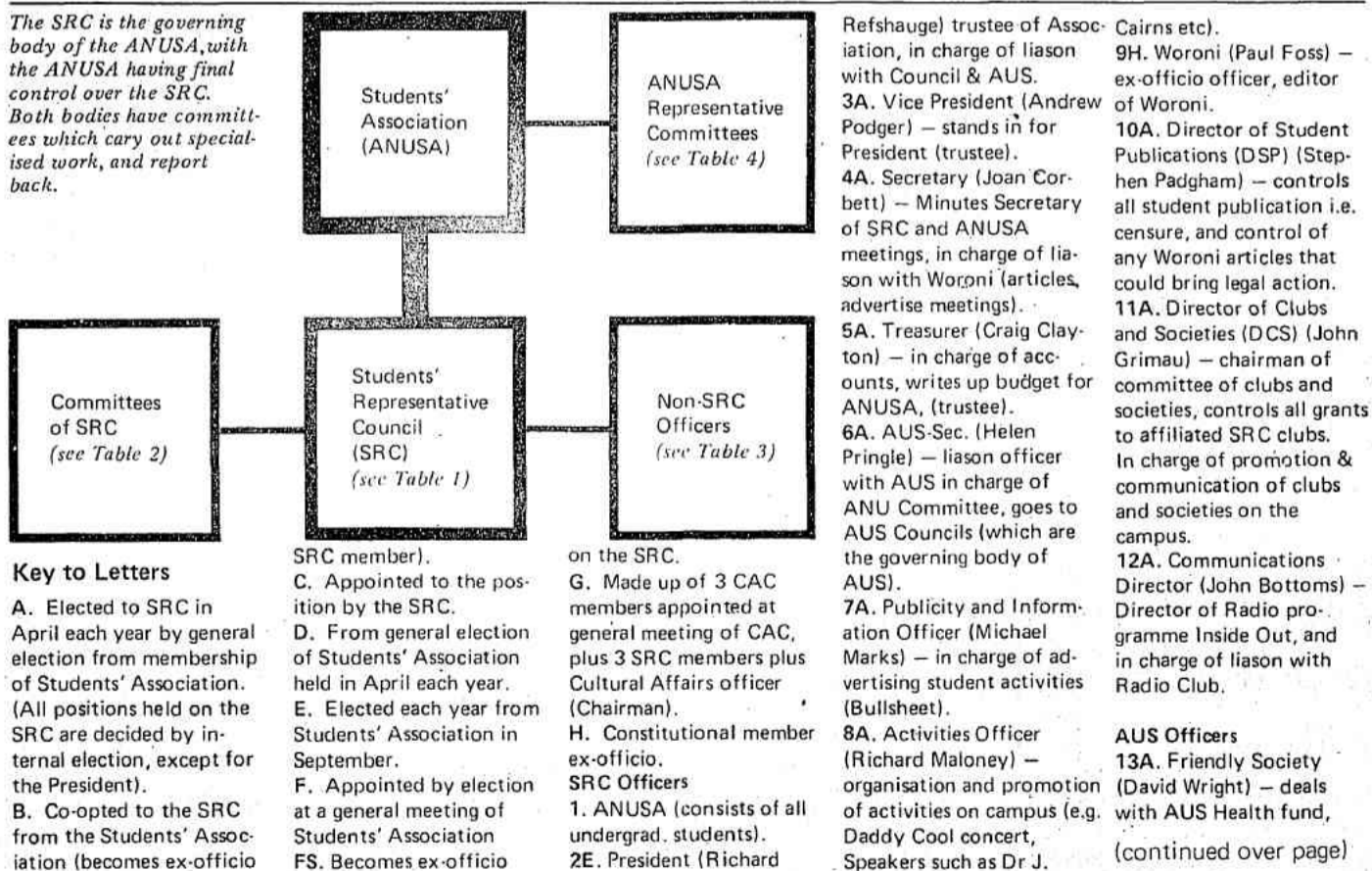
portfolios, to which they are elected by the SRC itself. The SRC may appoint its own members to these positions or other persons with special interest to other than Executive positions. This year the OSS, Abschol, Cultural Affairs and PNG Officers were appointed from non-SRC members. (see Table 3)

These persons may later be co-opted to the SRC in special cases. General Meetings of the ANUSA sometimes appoint ad hoc committees to report on matters of special interest to students in a year at a specific time, e.g. cheap housing, recycling, student government, etc. (see Table 4)

The SRC also appoints committees to carry out detailed work, e.g. to write a submission on semesters, to make grants to or recommend affiliation of clubs and societies, to grant student loans, etc. Some of these are standing committees which operate over a wide range of matters continuously, e.g. CAC, Childers Street Hall Complex Management Committee, Finance Committee, etc, others are appointed for a specific purpose or for a specific time, e.g. the future of CAC and its relations with the SRC, admission to Lennox House, etc. (see Table 2)

Structure of the ANUSA, the SRC and their committees

The SRC is the governing body of the ANUSA, with the ANUSA having final control over the SRC. Both bodies have committees which carry out specialised work, and report back.



Structure of the ANUSA, the SRC and their committees (continued)

Table 1

Students' Representative Council	
a) Executive	c) Other SRC Officers
2 President	7 Publicity & Information
3 Vice-President	8 Activities
4 Secretary	9 Woroni Editor
5 Treasurer	10 Director of Student Publications
6 AUS Secretary	11 Director of Clubs & Societies
b) AUS Officers	12 Communications
13 Friendly Soc.	
14 National Affairs	d) Others on SRC
15 International	39 Undergraduate Rep on Council
16 Abschol	40 Without portfolio
17 Travel	
18 Incoming Delegations.	
19 Cultural Affairs	
20 Welfare	
21 Education	
22 Environmental Action	

and AUS pharmacy.
14A. National Affairs (Richard Bomford) — concerned with matters such as conscription, Aust. environment, and foreign ownership.
15A. International Officer (Andrew McCredie) — concerned with AUS relations overseas, penfriends and correspondence with overseas students. Headquarters of AUS is in London.
16B. Abschol (Llew Morris) — Aboriginal Affairs.
17A. Travel (Kirsty McEwin) — in charge of publicity and co-ordination of AUS travel service.
18A. Incoming delegations (Kirsty McEwin) — concerned with visits of overseas students (i.e. Japanese and Russian delegations).
19B. Cultural Affairs officer (Julie Claburn) — liaison between CAC and SRC. Arranging campus tours through Aquarius.
20A. Welfare Officer (David Wright) — concerned with both AUS & ANU welfare services (i.e. Dental Service, Library, and Health Service).
21A. Education (Hans Drielsma) — Liaison between SRC and Council Committee on Education. Concerned with such matters as part-time students, Summer Courses, timetable, examination assessment.
22A. Environmental Action

Officer (Richard Bomford) — Concerned with such matters as recycling on campus.

Non SRC Officers — AUS Positions

23C. Overseas Student Service (OSS) (K.Liew) — co-ordinates such clubs as Malaysian Students' and Hong Kong Students' Association
24C. Social Action (Simon Clough) — Community Social Service, takes part in activities such as taking out underprivileged students, door knock appeals.
25C. National U (Jack Waterford) — ANU's correspondent with the National U.
26C. Papua & New Guinea (Caroline Le Courteur) — Co-ordinator with AUS, deals with such matters as granting scholarships and publicising Papua & New Guinea.

Other SRC Members (No Office):

39H. Undergra. Representative on Council (Michael Wright) — elected in August each year, becomes constitutional member of SRC ex-officio.
40A. Rae Ball holds no office at present.

Committees of the SRC

Standing
27C. Finance Committee (ANUSA Pres/Treasurer

SRC, Director of Clubs & Societies, SRC Secretary, and elected member of Students' Association (FS): Lambros Karavis) — controls the day to day finances of the Students' Association, and makes recommendations to the SRC on financial policy.
28D. Cultural Affairs Committee (CAC) M.Willoughby-Thomas, (Chairman), Elliott, A.Salzer, J.Cooper, A. Murray-Jones, Hohnen & CAO SRC) — essentially a clubs and societies committee, with respect to control of Cultural Associations (see Appendix 1). Promotes cultural activities.
29C. Clubs and Societies Committee (ANUSA President, Director of Clubs & Societies, SRC Treasurer) — Looks after the allocation of grants to clubs and societies, administers SA policy on promotion of student extra-curricula activities. (See appendix 2)
38C. Childers Street complex. (ANUSA President, Treasurer SRC, Director of Clubs and Societies, Cultural Affairs Officer SRC and Administration Secretary ANUSA (Di Riddell).) — controls the use and upkeep of the Childers Street complex, including the hiring out of rooms to clubs and societies, and the hiring out of the Childers Street

Hall.
31C. Loan Fund (Director: Jack Waterford) — Administers loans to students in need.
32C. Lennox House (ANUSA President, loan fund Director) — Controls the admission to Lennox House.
Ad Hoc
30C. Committee on Semesters (R.Refshauge, A. Podger, C.Clayton, J.Roe, N.Seagrim) — A Committee of interested persons from the SA & RSA, investigating the implications of a semester system, in order to present a submission to Council. ("Evaluation of the Semester System").
37G. CAC-SRC Relations (R.Refshauge, C.Clayton, J.Grimau, A.Salzer, L.Ryall, M.Willoughby-Thomas, Cultural Affairs Officer SRC) — Representatives of both bodies that work together to promote activities of all clubs affiliated to SRC & CAC (and the budget allocation for them).

ANUSA Rep. Committees
33F. Activities Committee (Activities Officer SRC, P.Hartley, A. Podger, T. Jacobs, G.Cole.) — Set up to sponsor visiting speakers, seminars etc. (usually of political nature).
34C. Recycling Committee (Richard Bomford plus ANUSA members) — Has looked into methods of recycling on campus and in the Union in particular.
35F. Housing. (ANUSA Pres/N.Richardson, A. Gould, H.Pringle, D.Wright) Set up to investigate student housing problems, administer expenditure of up to \$1500 for needy students and investigate future plans for Reid & Lennox Houses.
36F. Student Government (T.Burns, A.Richards, ASells, L.Karavis, B. Somosi) — Set up to investigate alternate methods of government to replace the SRC. It presented its report in 2nd term 1972.



Appendices Clubs affiliated with CAC and the SRC

Appendix 1. CAC Affiliated Clubs
 Chamber Music, Choral Society (SCUNA), Creative Arts Group, Film Group, Folk Music Society, Childers Street House Committee (in charge of Childers Street), Jazz Society, Literary Society, NUDE (Modern Dancing), Photo-

graphic Society, Poetry Society, Prometheus, Stage (Post Grad Theatre), Public Speaking Society and Debating Club (Tarrus Excretus), Theatre Group.

Appendix 2. SRC Affiliated Clubs
 Abschol, A.F.S.Returnees, Chess Club, Classics Society, Draft Resisters Union, Drinking Society, Economics Society, Environment Society, Evangelical Union, Falangé, Forestry Students Society, Geographical Society, Geology Society,

German Club, Good Book Society, Highly Esteemed, All leather Goon Society, Historical Society, Japanese Club, Law Society, Liberal Club, Left Alliance, Linguistic Society, Malindo, Monarchist Society, Muslim Students Association, Newman Society, Overseas Students, Part Time

Association, Political Science Society, Psychology Society, Society for Religions, Radio Club, Russian Club, Students Christian Movement, Science Society, Sociology Students Society, Social Action, Trainee Teachers Association, Women's Liberation, Zero Population Growth.

Table 2

Committees of SRC	
(SRC members plus members of ANUSA)	
Standing Committees	32. Lennox House
27. Finance	38. Childers St. Complex
28. Cultural Affairs Committee	Ad Hoc Committees
29. Clubs and Societies	30. Committee on Semesters
31. Loan Fund	37. CAC-SRC Relations

Table 3

Non-SRC Officers
(These are AUS Officers)
23. Overseas Student Service
24. Social Action
25. National U Correspondent
26. Papua & New Guinea

Table 4

ANUSA Representative Committees
33. Activities
34. Recycling
35. Housing
36. Student government

SPORTS UNION

A.N.U. Sports Council: Back left-J. O'Brien, W. Snowden, R. Clynes, J. Hearn, (RSA Nominee, replaced by I. Tilley) P. Brodsky, and P. Rayner. Front left-C. Alexander, N. Gray, A. Urquhart, T. Hewitt, and J. Sharp. Missing- A. Proctor and I. Tilley.

Policy and Facilities of the ANU Sports Union.



Policy: The responsibility of promoting organised sport and providing the opportunity for students to participate in recreational activities is undertaken by the Sports Union. The governing body, the Sports Council (elected annually by the members), is responsible for determining

policy, whilst administration of day to day affairs is undertaken by the Executive Secretary.

Sports Union Activities:
1. The fostering of affiliated sports clubs in local and intervarsity competition by providing financial, administrative and moral

assistance. 2. The provision of facilities for recreation and organised sports.

Facilities: In addition to areas catering for field sports, the Sports Union provides the following for members use: 1. Sports Centre: Kingsley Street Hall

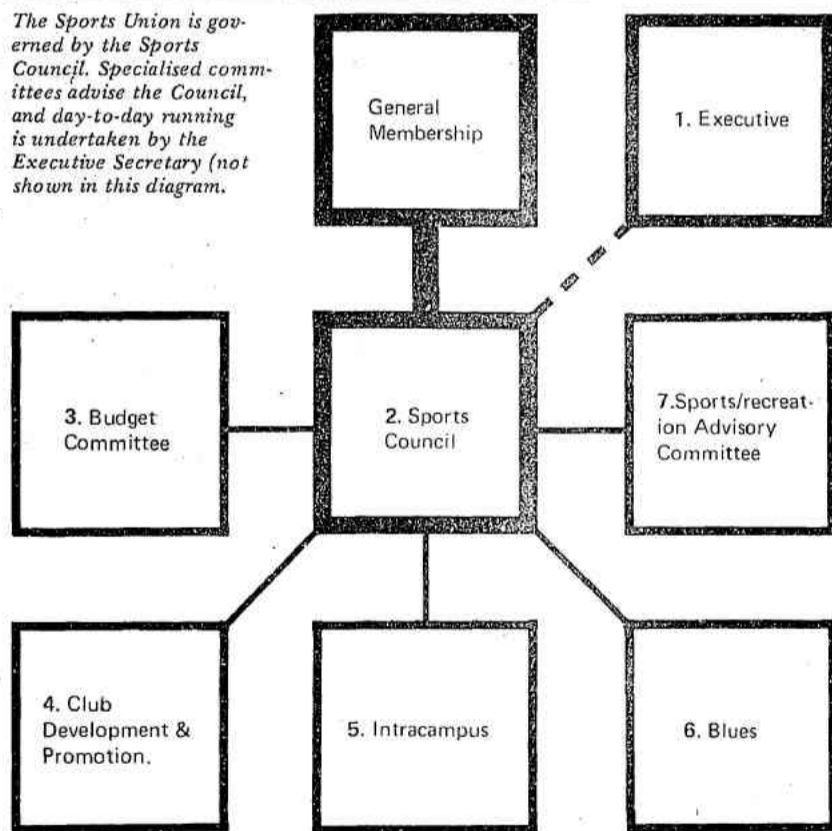
has provision for basketball, volleyball, netball, indoor hockey and soccer, judo, karate and aikido. The hall is open weekdays for casual use when not scheduled for team practices or competition. 2. Weight-training Centre, Kingsley Street Hall. 3. Golf practice area, comprises a

driving net, putting green and sand traps — all of which are floodlit for night practice. 4. Tennis Courts, 11 courts (2 lit for night tennis). 5. Ski facilities, combined with the Ski Club arranges concession ski trips to Thredbo and Perisher Valley. 6. Squash Courts, to be opened in Nov. 1972, on the north side of Sullivan's Creek. This area will initially comprise 6 squash courts and administration block. In later stages provision has been made for an indoor heated pool, sauna area, a multi-purpose gymnasium and other specialist areas.

Clubs affiliated with Sports Union.
Athletics, Australian Rules, Badminton, Basketball, Boat, Joggers, Caving, Canoeing, Cricket, Golf, Fencing, Hockey, Horse-riding, Judo, Karate, Kite Flying, Mountaineering, Rifle, Rugby League, Rugby Union, Skiing, Sailing, Skindiving, Soccer, Squash, Table Tennis, Tennis, Fitness Training.

Structure of the Sports Union- its Council and committees

The Sports Union is governed by the Sports Council. Specialised committees advise the Council, and day-to-day running is undertaken by the Executive Secretary (not shown in this diagram).



Key

1. Executive.
President, Vice-President, and Treasurer, elected from general membership.

2. Sports Council.
A. 9 elected members from general membership, (includes the 3 executive positions). Alistar Urquhart (President), Charles Alexander (V. President), Andrew Proctor (Treasurer), Toni Hewitt, John O'Brien, Phil Brodsky, Paul Rayner, Warren Snowdon, Bob

Clynes. B. 1 Research student (Ian Tilley), C. 1 Council nominee (J. Sharp), D. 1 SRC Rep. (Vacant), E. Secretary of Sports Union (Neil Gray).

3. Budget Committee.
Sports Council Executive

4. Club Development & Promotion
3 from Sports Council members (Alexander, Snowdon, Sharpe), plus co-opted member of (outside) special body.

5. Intracampus
2 from Sports Council (Clynes, Hewitt).

6. Blues
Under construction

7. Sports/Recreation Centre Advisory Committee
2 Sports Council (Snowdon, Proctor), Buser or his nominee (Bingley), 1 from Squash Club (M. Ronai), 2 outside members (J. Sharp, J. Gallop).

Functions of the Council & committees

The University College Sports Union was first formed in 1954. In 1957 it merged with the SRC but on 2nd April, 1960, a meeting was held to revive the Sports Union as a separate entity, and from thence it has gone from strength to strength.

General Membership: Every full or part-time student studying for an Undergraduate degree is a member of the Sports Union. Post-graduate students may apply for membership and no further fee has to be paid. Staff, academic and non-academic, and graduates of any University may apply for membership. Wives of staff members may apply for associate membership which will allow them to play tennis only.

Sports Council: The Sports Union is governed by the Sports Council which consists of a President, Vice President and Treasurer, who are elected separately, six elected Council members and a delegate from the Research Students' Association and University Council. Administration of day to day affairs of the Sports Union and implementation of Sports Council decisions are undertaken by the Executive Secretary.

Budget Committee: Makes the budget at the start of the Sports Council year (March).

Club development and promotion Committee: Has specified tasks referred to it each year. In 1971, the finding of land for the Riding Club and in 1972 the tagging of Sports Union fees to the Semester System. Sporting Clubs in the University may affiliate with the Sports Union. They must do so if they wish to benefit from financial assistance, Inter-varsity and office facilities.

Intracampus: Promotes the Intracampus competitions.

Blues: A Sub Committee of Uni. Council decides on the awarding of Blues each year. Blues and half-blues are awarded for outstanding performance in sport. The main criteria are that the person be eligible to play in Inter-varsity and has played regularly with the University's first team.

Sports/Recreation Centre Advisory Committee: A standing committee which at this stage advises Sports Council on the management of the Squash courts.

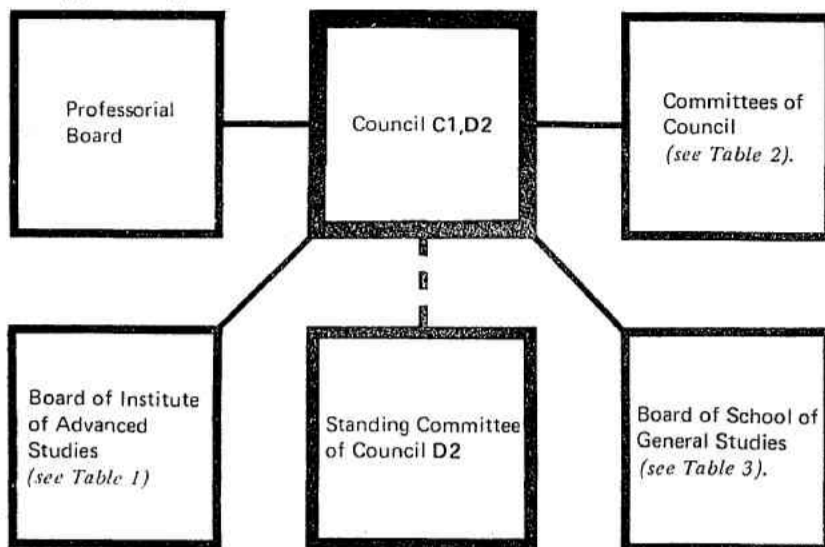
AUSA: The Australian Universities Sports Association is the co-ordinating body for the University Sports Union. It promotes University sports on a national level and deals with those problems common to all University Sports Unions.

Intervarsity Contests: Contests are organized and controlled by the AUSA. Most sports are accommodated in IV contests throughout the year.

ALL IN TOGETHER

The basic structure of the university bureaucracy. Further detail is given in the supplementary tables.

Participation The structure that allows student involvement in the universities' decision making process.



1. The Main Bodies

At the apex of this structure is the university governing body, the Council¹. It consists of some 43 members — nominees of Federal Parliament, nominees of the Governor General, members of University Staff, Professors or Deans from the School or Institute and two student members, one elected by the Undergraduates (Michael Wright) and the other the President of the Students' Association (Richard Regshaug). The Standing Committee of Council is a smaller group of council members (numbering 11) that make up the agenda and sift through all the material that the full council will have to discuss.

On matters of academic policy the Council is advised by the Boards of the Institute of Advanced Studies (IAS) and the School of General Studies (SGS)² (These are the 2 academic parts of the university). The School (SGS) exists primarily for the teaching of undergraduates and consists of 5 faculties (Arts, Science, Asian Studies, Economics and Law). The Institute (IAS) exists for the purpose of research and consists of 6 schools (John Curtin School of Medical Research, and the Research Schools of Chemistry, Physical Sciences, Biological Sciences, Social Sciences and Pacific Studies), we have very little to do with this body. There are no students on the Board of the School of General Studies. However, since the Board does make policy decisions of direct interest to students, a Board Liaison Committee has been set up (D1), which includes Faculty Deans, representatives of Professorial and non-Professorial staff and eight students.

There is also the Professorial Board composed of all the Professors of the University, both

IAS & SGS. Its role is entirely advisory.

2. Council Committees

Under the full council (and its Standing Committee) we have 2 types of committee. I Standing Committee of Council; II Advisory Committee to Council.

1. Standing Committees. The Finance Committee, and its associated Investments Committee. This deals with all matters to do with University income and budgeting, and the management of investment of any reserves. At present there is no student membership but the SRC has been trying to have the SRC Treasurer put onto this Committee for some time.

Buildings and Grounds (A9) We have one student member here. This committee deals with any matters to do with new buildings, their siting and planning. Often they invite student opinion on matters that will affect students. Under this committee there are

Users Committees, one for each new building, and they invite student membership from those that will have something to do with the building (A10, 11, 12). These ad hoc committees look more into the functional aspects of the individual building than overall planning of developments as the B. & G. Committee does. **Education Committee.** Set up to evaluate education matters of great importance to Council, such as the abolition of fees, 4 year courses and part-time students. **Discipline and Appeals.** Hasn't met for years. **Advisors on legislation.** Advise council on the phraseology and drafting of legislative instruments of the university.

2. Advisory Committees. Halls of Residence. Discusses matters to do with

halls of residence, principally: budgets, fees and admissions. **Student Welfare.** Discusses matters of student welfare, such as dental service, bicycles on campus, student work load and health and council services. **Bookshop.** Acts as a liaison between the Board of the Co-opt Bookshop and the University. **Fees.** Recommends the level of tuition fees to be levied each year. **Naming.** Lays down policy by which names are decided upon for all uni. buildings. **Colleges Committee.** Only a liaison committee, set up by the Vice-Chancellor if need be, for example: the setting up of a new College. (Note: the administration has very little control over the colleges). **Campus Radio Station Committee.** Functions: a) management over the station; b) appoint members to the more technical admin. committee of the radio station; c) report to council on budget estimates and an annual statement of income & expenditure.

3. School of General Studies

In the School of General Studies there are 5 faculties (already listed). Each have roughly the same make up of students in the particular structure.

Faculties of Board of SGS. Working from the students up to the faculty board. First we have the Department, these are not at present formally recog-

nized by university, except that the Head of a Department is responsible to the Vice-Chancellor and to Council for the administration of the Department. Departmental Liaison Committees exist in some departments with differing memberships and functions. Usually they are made up of several students from each subject in a department, that voice their and the student masses opinions direct to the Head of the department about anything that should be bothering the student in that department, (at present this is a very informal committee.)

Above the department comes the Faculty Education Committee. These committees are chaired by the Dean of the Faculty with equal numbers of students and staff representing each department in the faculty (See B1-B5). The only exception is the Faculty of Law which has no departments as compared to the Arts Faculty which has 15 departments. (Note: the distinction in terminology between Forestry which is a department in Science, not a faculty. And Law which is a faculty, with no department.) The powers of the FEC are "To advise Faculty on courses, course structure, examination procedures and such other non-personal matters which have a bearing on the problems of the Faculty and its work as the Faculty or Education Committee itself might determine. Proposal and suggestions are often implemented at this level and do not go up to the Faculty Board (except for noting at Faculty level)."

The Faculty consists of: all academic staff in the Faculty, the Vice-Chancellor, Deputy Chairman of the Board, one student appointed by the SRC (A1-A5), two students appointed by and from the student members of the Faculty Education Committees (A1*-A5*), and various staff from other faculties.

The powers of the Faculty (SGS Statute A7 & 8 (a)-(e): The functions of a Faculty are (in general).

a) to furnish advice to the Board of the School and the Professorial Board on matters relating to study within the faculty; and b) to encourage and maintain standards of scholarship, research and teaching, and to maintain standards of examination within the scope of the faculty.

A Faculty may a) make recommendations to the Board of the School with respect to:

- 1) the introduction, alteration or cessation of courses of study or subjects in the Faculty;
 - 2) the syllabuses for such courses or subjects;
 - 3) the requirements to be fulfilled by students taking such courses or subjects;
 - 4) the academic progress of students;
 - 5) the approval of subjects and titles of theses to be submitted for masters' degrees;
 - 6) the appointment of examiners for theses submitted, and other work performed for masters' degrees;
 - 7) the acceptance or rejection of theses submitted and other work performed for masters' degrees, and the granting of such degrees.
 - 8) the time-table of lectures, classes and examinations in the Faculty;
 - 9) the matriculation of students, other than students enrolled for doctoral degrees, or for courses of research in the Research Schools of the Institute.
 - 10) the admission of students of other universities to status towards degrees in the Faculty.
- b) enrol students in the Faculty;
- c) exempt students in the Faculty from attendance at lectures, classes, and practical work;
- d) exempt students in the Faculty from part of a course of study;
- e) conduct examinations and publish the results of the examinations.

Note: No attempt has been made to make the contents of this supplement exhaustive, and it is hoped that no-one is misled by the short explanations of both the positions of the representatives and the general concept of the structure of participation.

Table 1

Board of Institute of Advanced Studies
Faculty and Faculty Board
John Curtin School of Medical Research
Research School of Physical Sciences
Research School of Chemistry
Research School of Biological Sciences
Research School of Social Sciences
Research School of Pacific Studies
Committees of BIAS
(not listed)



Student Membership on Council and its Committees.

Note: All appointments are for one academic year from date of appointment.

Appointed by SRC, from general membership of SA.

A1 Russel Hodge, A2 Alan Sells, A3 Lambrós Karavis, A4 Ian Green, A5 Rosemary Thompson, A6 Paul Bell, A7 Zinal Abidin, A8 Robert Crouch, A9 Llew Morris, A10 CAC nominees (Lee Ryall, P. Chapman). A11 Pres. ANUSA and 2 other undergrads. A12 J. Ahuja, P. Chapman, M. Cunliffe, R. Refshauge, D. Scott, A13 Vacant (not filled at present). A14 Michael Marks, A15 Philipp Ingram.

Appointed to Faculty from FEC

A1 R.C. Hamilton, A. Featherston, A2 A.E. McEwin, T.J.Moy, A3 Michael Marks, Michael McDowell, A4 J.Roe, P.R. Hartley, A5 H. Drielsma, J.Pumpurs.

Faculty appointees from general membership of Faculty (one student and one staff member from each department, plus the SRC appointed Faculty Reps.)

B1 Law A. Featherston, R.L.Hamilton, M. Higgins, P.B.Williams, P.R.Smith, R. Hodge (SRC)

B2 Asian Studies Japanese - A.E.McEwin, South Asian and Buddhist Studies - J.P.Kerley, Chinese - M.D. McDonnell, Indonesian -

E.J.Wade, Asian Civilization - T.J.Moy, Post Grad - V.J.Slynn, A.Sells (SRC)

B3 Economics Accounting and Public Finance - F.W. Rankin, Economic History - J.E.Dixon, Economics - M.R.Marks, Political Science Science - M.I.McDowell, Statistics - A.K.Maritz, Pres. of Economic Society (or his nominee) - J.M. Corbett, L.Karavis (SRC).

B4 Arts Classics - M. Duckanan, English - R.N. Jose, French - P.Turner, Geography - B.W.Jones, German - M.Livermore, History - J.Roe, Linguistics - S.Kesteven, Pure Maths. - P.Trudinger, Applied Maths. - P.R. Hartley, Philosophy - J.A. Cooper, Political Science - P. Ogden, Psychology - J.R.Mahoney, Russian - A.J.Metcalf, Sociology - G.Bellas, Medieval Studies - vacant, Ian Green (SRC)

B5 Science Forestry - J.H. Drielsma, Zoology - J.

Pumpurs, Applied Maths - M.P.Fewell, Pure Maths - J.A.Wannan, Bio-chemistry P.G.Williams, Botany - J.A.Lindsay, Chemistry - R.V.Southward-Jones, Geology - P.E.Devine, Physics - M.D.Daffey, Psychology - D.A.Hawking, Theoretical Physics - P.J.Blamey, R.Thompson (SRC)

Departmental-Liaison Committees

B6-B10 Departmental-liaison Committees Membership of Departmental-liaison Committees is up to the appropriate Department and the students in it. They do not legally exist in the University Act (at present)

C Others Elected by postal ballot in August-September each year.

C1 Michael Wright (Undergrad rep. on council).

D These are ex-officio positions.

D1 President ANUSA; Education Officer SRC. 5 Faculty Reps (one from each Faculty)

D2 President ANUSA.

D3 Undergrad. Rep. on Council.

D4 Undergrad. Rep. on Council OR President ANUSA

D5 Undergrad. Rep. on Council. All JCRA Chairmen from halls of residence.

D6 President ANUSA, President Sports Union, Chairman Union Board of Management, Welfare Officer SRC, Female undergrad. rep. (Julie Clabburn), Rep. from halls of residence (John Bottoms), Postgrad. rep.

D7 Vice President SRC, Education Officer SRC, Union Board Rep. (Richard Refshauge)

D8 President ANUSA

D9 Undergrad. Rep. on Council-Chairman(M. Wright), Postgrad rep. on Council, Member appointed by Council (Dean of students), Academic Register or his nominee, Member nominated by ANUSA (R.Refshauge), President of Radio Club(P.Power), Secretary of Radio Club (P.Woolard), Treasurer of Radio Club(A.Murray-Jones).

Committees of Board of School of General Studies. Liaison: already discussed. Summer Courses: discuss the types of courses the uni can be put on during Summer, preferably aimed at the type of person other than the uni. student. Teacher Evaluation: Set up to investigate means of evaluating the teaching competence of lectures. Library: liaison committee between the Lib-

rary staff, academic staff and the students.

Footnotes;

1. S.23 Univ. Act. Powers 8 "...the council may ... appoint deans, professors, lecturers, examiners and other officers and servants of the Uni., and shall have the entire control and management of the affairs and concerns of the University....."

2. BSGS Statute S2, 3. The Board is the principle academic body of the School. The Board may advise the Council on any matter relating to education, learning or research or the academic work of the University and, in particular, may make recommendations to Council in respect to- (a) establishment, abolition, combination or subdivision of Faculties....or of departments.... (d) the requirements of courses of study in the Faculties of the School. (g) the discipline of students in the University.

3. S15D(2) Univ. Act. Powers: "...may advise Council on any matter relating to education, learning or research or the academic work of the Uni."

Table 2.

Table 3.

Committees of Council	
Advisory Committee.	Standing Committees
Halls of Residence D5	Education D3
Student Welfare D6	Discipline A13
Bookshop D7	Appeals D4
Fees D8	Advisors on Legislation
Naming A15	Finance
Colleges Committee A14	Investments
Campus Radio Station Committee D9	Buildings & Grounds A9
Chancellors	(Users committees- ad hoc)
Superannuation	Arts Centre A10
General Salaries	New Union A12
Financial assistance for attendance at overseas conferences	Fourth Hall of Residence A11
University Fellowships.	

Board of School of General Studies			
Faculties			
Law A1,A1*	FEC B1	Department B6	Students
Asian Studies A2,A2*	FEC B2	Department B7	Students
Economics A3,A3*	FEC B3	Department B8	Students
Arts A4,A4*	FEC B4	Department B9	Students
Science A5,A5*	FEC B5	Department B10	Students
Committees			
Liaison D1	Electoral Committees		
Summer courses A6	Time Tables		
Teacher Evaluation A7	Promotions		
Library † A8	Structure of the University		
Graduate Degrees †	Establishment of Research Group		
Admissions.	Study of Man		
Post Graduate Scholarships	† Joint Committee of BSGS and BIAS		
Prizes			

UNION

Union Board of Management. Back: M. Marks, A. McCreddie, L. Smith, J. Castellari, Mr. Fairbanks, G. Smith, C. MacPhillamy, A. Urquhart. Front: Mr. Jay, Mr. Colman, Refshauge, P. Power, F. Keighley, B. Packard, E. de Totth. Missing: Mr D. J. Spratt.

Function of Union Board of Management and Committees



Board of Management. The management and control of the Union is vested in the Board of Management. The Board has power to:-
1.a) conduct the affairs of the Union; b) control the use of the premises and property of the Union; and c) do such things as it thinks fit for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the Union.
2.a) cause books and accounts to be kept for the Union in a form determined by the Council; b) arrange for the books and accounts and any vou-

chers to be audited each year, and at such other times as the Council directs, by a person approved by the Council; and c) furnish to the Council such financial statements and reports on the general activities of the Union as the Council requires; d) borrow money and give security for any debt, liability or obligation of the Union.
3) The Board may appoint a committee or committees consisting of members of the Board, with or without other persons.
4) The Board may, by

resolution, either generally or otherwise as provided in the resolution, delegate to such a committee, to a member of the Board or to the Secretary, all or any of its powers other than this power of delegation.
5) A power so delegated is revocable by resolution of the Board and does not prevent the exercise of a power by the Board.
6) The Board is the authority appointed by the Council in respect to the Union premises and as such it may make orders not inconsistent with the University "Liquor (Halls

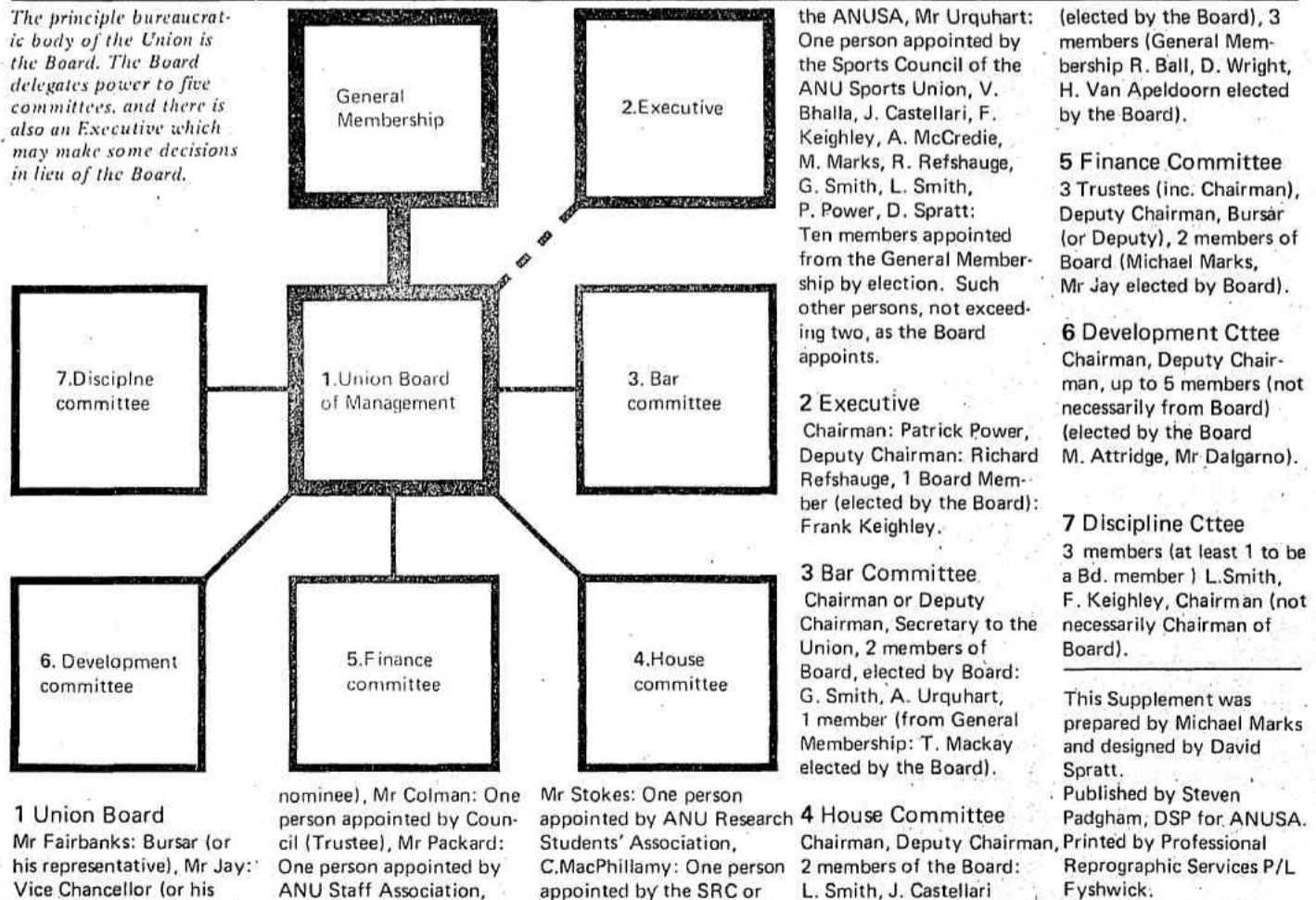
of Residence and University Union)" Statute.
Bar Committee. The Bar Committee shall be responsible for the running of the bar and liquor services established by the Board, provided that the Secretary may require any decision to be referred to the Board before implementation.
House Committee. The House Committee shall advise the Board of Management on the provision and use of Union facilities within the building and conduct such other business as is referred to it by the

Board.
Finance Committee. The Finance Committee shall consider and report to the Board on all matters affecting, directly or indirectly, the finances of the Union and such other matters as are from time to time referred to it by the Board.
Development Committee. 1) to investigate and report to the Board on the long term planning of the physical facilities of the Union; 2) to estimate costs and suggest means of financing this planning; 3) to deal with such other matters referred to it by the Board from time to time.
Discipline Committee. The Discipline Committee shall be concerned with any breaches of any rules made by the Board of Management other than procedural rules of government of the Union, binding on Committees of the Union Board.

Decision of the Discipline Committee shall be by simple majority but in cases of equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.
The Discipline Cttee shall have the power to fine members up to \$50(fifty dollars) for breaches of Union Rules. The Discipline Cttee shall have power to exclude non-members from Union premises.

Structure of Union Board of Management and Committees

The principle bureaucratic body of the Union is the Board. The Board delegates power to five committees, and there is also an Executive which may make some decisions in lieu of the Board.



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POLITICS

Homosexuals accost billy

Lex Watson takes a look at the candidature of David Widdup for Billy's seat of Lowe

Like the proverbial (light in the sky?) homosexual law reform matters, not as a tangible thing but as a symbol of better attitudes to come. Don't deceive yourselves, ye Liberals, HLR, as it calls itself, is only a minimal gesture.

There are those, like Bill McMahon, who don't believe that homosexuals are arrested for consenting in private acts, nor that we are spied on in our private lives (just how secret are ASIO's activities?), and regard this as an argument against changing the present laws. There are others who think that such a change will spell the end of civilisation as we know it. There are yet others, like this author, who think both such views display what we might call, tactfully, ignorance and which some might go so far as to label self-deception.

When two men in SA (it's that State again) can be charged on three counts of buggery performed on the other with consent and in private, and convicted of each and sent to gaol for eleven months each in the year of someone's Lord 1972, let us not pretend that this law is dead. But let us also not delude ourselves — in NSW the 200,000 odd active male homosexuals collect in any given year about 300 prosecutions, mostly against minors through inadvertent circumstances. There is something very curious about this law.

But as an election issue, HLR is nowhere. Australian elections have not, maybe never will, get beyond the Libs trying to buy votes while the ALP concentrates on 'safe' issues like decentralisation. Hypocrisy, misrepresentation, and unrealistic promises are the stuff of our politics and the homosexual is better off outside that mess. But you can't do it.

Because the Liberals will not bring in homosexual rights, they have decided that HLR is baby an abortion. So, bad luck, baby. Not. No, No.

McMahon's attitude is stat-

ed above. He seems totally annoyed by the suggestion that this is condoning people breaking his laws in private, and constitutes as serious a disrespect for the law as the Libs so merrily accuse the ALP of in their attitude to draft resisters. Annoyed, but neither he nor Greenwood will answer the question — and of course they can't. If they conveyed their attitude to the Commonwealth police and ASIO perhaps it would be worth something — now it is just a sad commentary on their total lack of touch with reality. McMahon admits that he knows very little about the subject of homosexuality — and despite malicious rumours to the contrary, that is doubtless true. It might seem that, as leader, he should know something about the second largest minority in the country (the largest is women), but clearly he recognises that it is a sensitive issue.

The Libs (McMahon and Bowen) have another line which they plug when pushed. This says that HLR is a State matter, so why ask them? This is a great help to the ACT (also the NT, Antarctica, Norfolk Island etc) on whose rights they have a vote. It also ignores that their own election propaganda, 1972 style, attacks the ALP's alleged stand on abortion, despite the truth that abortion is also a 'State matter' as much, or as little, as homosexual behaviour.

There is not one Federal Liberal MP who is prepared to say that he, or she, would support HLR if given a free vote — not one! There are at least 25 federal ALP MP's who have gone on record that they would. Equally there are some ALP men who are as virulently opposed as any DLP'er. No doubt each would have their vote, because the ALP will treat HLR as a conscience vote, and the reason is entirely political — to do otherwise would split the party.

But the logic is curious — if conscience is involved, surely it is the conscience of the actor, not the MP which is at stake?

And while it may not be a major issue, it is becoming increasingly apparent, with the politicisation of the homosexual in Australia, that there are votes to be won from homosexuals for a party that supports homosexual rights (up to 15% of the electorate in fact) and few heterosexuals, no matter how anti-they are, are going to change their votes on these grounds. It is simply not as important to them as it is to us.

Meanwhile CAMP in NSW is running a candidate in Lowe, David Widdup, against the PM, and visiting the hustings asking candidates questions. Directly it is all going to make little difference — it may help defeat McMahon and get a more favourable party in. It may simply make MP's more aware that we are concerned, and tired of the old lines and the old excuses. Initially it is worth doing simply for shock value — those of us who have been in the movement for upwards of two years forget the shock value that is still there in standing up at a political meeting and asking a question about homosexual rights as a homosexual. Good little Liberals have been known to be very shocked, some ALP members will be even more hostile.

HLR is, as we said at the start, symbolic more than real, as an issue. It is symbolic of the sort of syndrome which the Australia Party has so readily adopted as their own — however amateurish or otherwise one might think them. And it is this sort of syndrome — women's rights, homosexual rights, individual freedom in the 1970's which has an economic component as the black rights movement knows better than any of us — that is the plank of David Widdup, the CAMP candidate for Lowe. It may not be the central issue of the election, but it may well be the deciding issue in a closely fought election. And it is the sort of muscle which has too long been neglected by the monolithic blocks that have constituted the Australian two-party system.

Let it all hang out (courtesy of AUS)

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k. mcwin.



Orientation Week 1973



A meeting will be held at 12.30 pm Monday in the Unite to Bar for all those who wish to contribute to O-Week '73 — culture, political, social, union and sporting extravaganza — if you want it — Bring ideas, thoughts, possibilities to this meeting or to Dave Wright and Steve Padgham, Co-directors Orientation Week '73.

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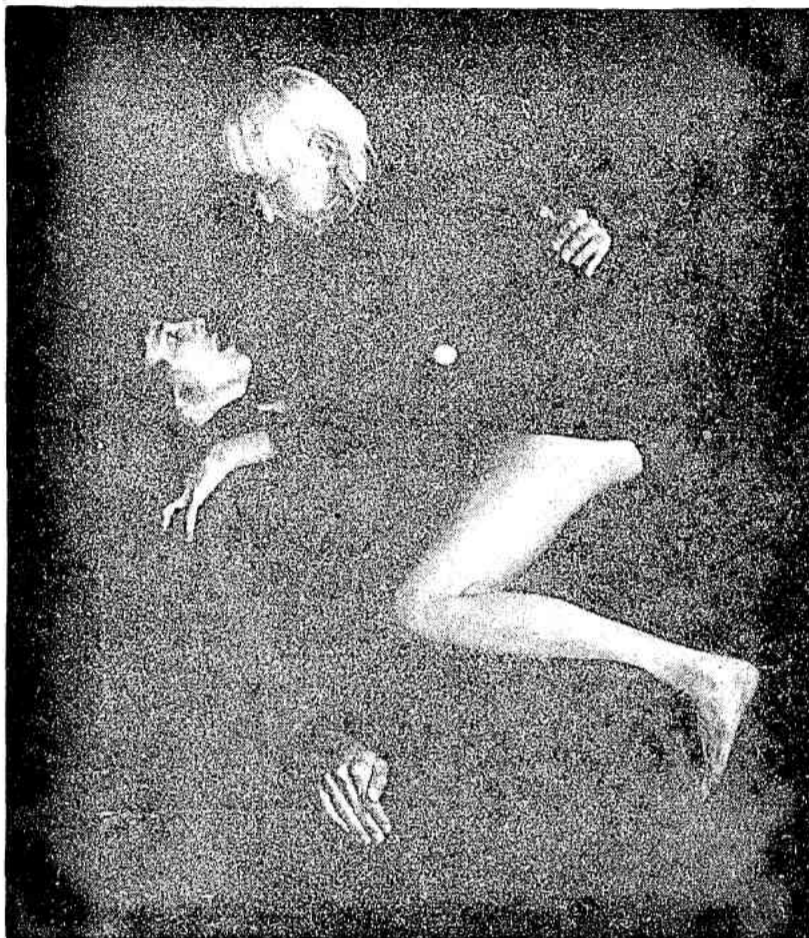
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REVIEWS

Covetousness (Bobbi Gledhill) attempts to lure Mankind (Nick Jose) away from the Castle of Perseverance. Presently playing nightly behind the Library willows.

Capital talent

A look at two Canberra based productions.



The earie utterings of chairman Bill

The Wit and Wisdom of Billy, by those who should know, ie Dale Dowse, Germanus Pause, and Helen Shepherd. Nelson, 122pp \$.75

Monday morning, September 25. Through the gurgles of the electric jug I managed to catch Robert Peach on "AM" introducing a Mr Ron Turner, president or secretary or chairman or whatever of (I think I got it right) the Liberal Party Speakers (?) Mr. Peach was inquiring about a book that had just appeared called *The Wit and Wisdom of William McMahon*. And a good thing too, thought Mr Turner. Everyone, particularly Liberal Speakers, would do well to heed the exhortation in the book's introduction: "they should all study, Prime Minister McMahon's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters."

Mr Turner raved on in this vein for a couple of minutes, and then Peach called his attention to the fact that the book had no acknowledged author.

"Who do you think did it? Could it have been anyone in the Liberal Party?"

And then, just before the furious spouts of the jug's last lap made all else inaudible, Mr Turner replied, "Oh ... I don't think so. But it could have been someone in the DLP..."

I slammed off the switch and ran to the phone.

"Helen ... did you hear it? ... AM ... They think it's the DLP! ... I can't believe it! ... How could they possibly?"

Helen was fairly sleepy at the time and gave the distinct impression that she couldn't care less. I hung up the phone, a little deflated.

Curious, this was the first time I had managed to get excited over that book since the early hours of a June

morning when we finished the final draft of the manuscript and sent it off down to Melbourne. After weeks of collecting, classifying and collating William McMahon's thought we were overcome with joy and relief when it was all over. Really, none of us wanted to think about it ever again. The job was done, we got our money, we probably lost or damaged a crucial proportion of our brain cells working on the project. (470-odd quotable quotes of Billy...can you imagine how that would clog your batteries?) We wanted to forget.

And since the book has come out none of us has been able to look at it for more than a minute at a time. (You can appreciate, then, how difficult it is for me to write this review!)

It would be true enough to say that when we began working, we all thought it would be a bit of fun for a bite of bread. But after six weeks it didn't seem much of a lark (and we didn't make all that much money).

It was all so depressing. Depressing that we have to put up with a crumb like McMahon for our *Leader*, depressing that crumbs just like him have been calling the tune in this here land for so many years, depressing that they might conceivably go on calling that tune.

We made vain little attempts to cheer ourselves with the thought that we three, in our humble way, might be doing something to prevent it happening. But not even that could wipe the gloom. Christ, the fuckwit's been up there all this time! Nothing could compensate for that unpalatable fact.

And we did wonder, from time to time, whether there might be people who would take the whole thing straight. I mean, there are people who actually vote for the Liberal/Country Party, people who just might actually believe, like Billy himself, actually

believes, that the man is capable, wise and even, if one can take Ron Turner's word for it, witty.

We have been surprised at some of the press reactions, fondly imagining that the press on the whole is more politically sophisticated than your average Australian voter. The Age apparently found the comparison to Chairman Mao presumptuous (as if we were even suggesting a serious comparison!), the Sunday Telegraph wondered whether someone in the ABC was stirring the shit again — how else did the book contain excerpts from all those transcripts? (Easy, anyone can get hold of them, and, incidentally, the ABC hasn't come near us and they've known for a while). The big fuss about the anonymity... it's been referred to as "the book with no author" ... we thought it would be a little silly to put our names to it, but there wasn't any secret about the authorship, at least around Canberra.

I have to admit, though, that it has been fun over the past couple of weeks hearing about some of the comments. A close friend of mine went to a bookshop at Jamison and casually mentioned to the shop assistant that she knew who the author of the little red book was. His reply, "Well, then, lady, you're the only one in the country who does. It's a deep dark secret" And so it's gone on for days.

Well now, what about the book? First of all, a pat on the publisher's back for making it cheap ... 75 cents for all that learning. On the other hand, I was sorry to see that the chapter headings don't appear on each page. Some of the quotes are only relevant or funny because they've been placed in a particular context; the reader should be reminded of the context all the time in order to get the point. For instance, all the quotes in the last chapter take on a sardonic cast because they are listed under "Dare to

Persevering at the castle

Last week I looked in on a full rehearsal of *The Castle of Perseverance*, the medieval morality play to be performed across from the ANU Library Lawn from this Tuesday (10th) through till Sunday. The night before, the cast had been thrown out of the Woden Plaza for attempting to create some street theatre of *The Castle* and abused in Garema Place by an American who thought the excerpts were debauching and demoralising the women and children. With these reports I went to the rehearsal expecting a bacchanalian guerrilla theatre orgy.

Not so. What I saw was the performance — albeit suffering from the uncoordination of first full rehearsal — of some of the most exciting and unique theatre I've ever seen. The set represents, I suppose, the medieval idea of the cosmic circle, but the directors claim more than that. They claim that its uniqueness lies not only in the fact that it was one of the few moralities designed for performance in the round, but that it is essentially total theatre. The play is performed outside, in a circle, with a castle (for virtues) in the centre, and five scaffolds (for vices) at the perimeter. The audience sits

between so that the action takes place at their centre, among them, and surrounding them. One of the most amazing things about this production is that the castle (fifteen feet high and seventeen feet in diameter) has been designed so that the audience has perfect sightlines through the castle to the other side.

The plot of the play is fairly similar to those of most other moralities. But if you think maybe this production has twisted and perverted, go read the script. This production has certainly extended the sense of the play-covetousness and Mankind's sensual and crutch-clutching relationship; the Daughters' of God amazon like attack on Belial's Scaffold and their rescue of Mankind — they bear him off on their shoulders in triumphant procession to God.

It was exciting to see that each of the stock morality figures had developed his own movements and facial masks. The theme colours — red for vices and yellow for virtues — most effectively portrayed the opposing worlds of the play.

The production will, I think, be a unified one. Movement has been planned so that a strong rhythm of staccato relieved by one of sway develops between scaffold and castle.

H. Boaden.

Struggle and Dare to Win". The whole idea is so preposterous, Billy heroically taking "one step at a time through this difficult maze."

One of my favourites comes under "Patriotism and Internationalism": "China is becoming a world power. Make no mistake about that." (April 19, 1972).

Billy has some very enlightened ideas considering, as he puts it, "there have been no great crises in my intellectual life." Take his views on homosexuality, for example: "What little reading I've done about it has given me the impression that it's more due to physiological causes than anything else. Consequently, you must look at it from a medical point of view rather than a political one." And, "on the question of abortion, I have taken the view that we have no intention of reforming the abortion laws." But then, as he himself admits, "...my ideas have been absorbed from the liberal movement rather than from

any outstanding teachers..."

Oh. So that's where he got the idea that South-East Asia has changed "from a region of turbulence to one with a more settled and confident prospect."

And it's interesting to learn what he thinks about immigration: "I deny that our policy is racist ... we don't believe in racism. But we do believe in having a homogeneous population and being able to ensure we don't get little enclaves and little blocs that could become a perpetual source of worry."

And Aboriginal land rights: "The Government understands fully the desire of the Aboriginal people to have their affinity with the land with which they have been associated recognised by law."

So get to know the enemy and buy the book.

One final word: someone might object to my reviewing this book, but after all it isn't ours ... it's all Billy's.

Dale Dowse.

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REVIEWS

The right to challenge

A re-review of Prometheus and a review of Spigelman's treatise on political secrecy in Australia.



Prometheus Revisited

The review of the 1972 Prometheus that appeared in the last 'Woroni' was incompetent, dangerous and gutless.

Incompetent because the reviewer masquerades behind a smattering of literary jargon without quoting one line of prose or poetry, without mentioning one photograph or graphic, without mentioning one contributor by name, to substantiate his econoclastic remarks. A review without textual evidence to back up what is said is surely a hollow review.

Dangerous, because it irresponsibly sets out to undermine the confidence of young poets, prose-writers, photographers, and graphic artists for whom Prometheus is often a testing-ground. Gutless, because having raved for one newspaper column in the most insulting damaging, and posturing terms, the reviewer reveals that he does not have the courage to take the personal responsibility for what he has said.

My own belief is that there exists considerable artistic talent on this campus, and this year's Prometheus was a fair representation of it. Let me substantiate this.

Take Robert Crocker. He is the first name in the book and thus a good indication that the reviewer at least read that far. Crocker does not claim to be an 'acid' poet, he claims to work with surrealist modes, which I think is different, and in his poem 'at the bistro' we can observe the displacements, disorientations, and confusions in the speaker's mind that characterise the surrealists pre-occupation with our irrational dream worlds:

*watch watch
she is here
untouched through the inflammable streets
through the trees spitting
out their feathers
her throat a jewel
cutting out my words*
I used the word 'confusions' and it is evident that the speaker of the poem is confused — but not the poet. With considerable assurance and intelligence he demonstrates the threats and disorientation of his contemplation of the girl through the medium of the dream, or whatever medium of displacement it happens to be. Naturally the poem is not Breton, or Lamantia, but it is competent, intelligent, and capable of comprehension by people other than the poet himself.

Let us take Julia Perry, a very different poet. 'The Lunchtime cafe regular' has got nothing to do with 'image bombardment' or any other of Mr Reviewers' glib terms. It is a competently observed character sketch.

*"Can you speak Russian?"
and excited she breaks
the barrier of servant
talks of her days in the
Ukraine
sighs heavily remembering
change*

Again, not the reportage of Theodore Roethke but deserving public appraisal.

Then again we have the Mick Burn's highly musical use of language in 'Patent Martyr', with its mixture of humour and anxiety.

*Plebiscite!
Ya Murinary Phage!
I'll take you on at any odds
God's curse!
You'll not destroy Miss
Universe*

Or the controlled representation of a distraught mind in Elizabeth Gillespie's 'after a nasty'

*think love think love think
love
one of those days last
january*

*john berryman was leaping
off a bridge*

*there was such a black
battered hole
behind the eyes*

This poem, in my opinion, is the best poem to have appeared on this campus in the five years I have been here.

I could go on forever, exemplifying the artistic talent that exists on this campus, the experimental layout of Casey van Seville's short story, or the humour of Nick Richardson's graphic. But let me now answer three charges, that 'Prometheus' this year was 'elitist' 'parochial' and (un?) 'revolutionary'.

The notice asking for contributions that appeared in May of this year had wider coverage around the University than similar notices of previous years. The editorial staff and contributors of the 1970 Prometheus were mostly to be found in the ANU Literary Society. The editors of the 1971 issue come almost exclusively from Bruce Hall. This year it was the policy of the editors to disaffiliate themselves from particular groups, and though two of the editors were engaged in an earlier poetic production, this on the whole was achieved. The majority of contributors had not appeared in Prometheus before.

'Parochial: Of course the magazine is parochial. It is the ANU Literary Journal.

'Revolutionary: The magazine as a whole, and many, if not most of its contributors would not profess to be revolutionaries. They profess to be people practising some particular art form which they offer for public scrutiny. For the reviewer to complain that the prose for example is 'the ego-centrism of the "revolutionary" expounding his bourgeois leanings' is nasty-minded and dishonest.

But then nasty-mindedness has been a characteristic that has been very noticeable in Woroni in recent months. The news brief on Andrew Dunstan in the last issue, is an example.

It is a pity that the editor of Woroni cannot rid his newspaper of the posturing critics that exercise their mean-spirited iconoclasm at the expense of the self-confidence of some quite creative people.

Alan Gould,
Editor Prometheus 1972.

Podger on Spigelman

'It's Time' may be a trite piece of political humbug, but the reverberations in various areas of policy-making prior to the election have been quite staggering. Theses on the new era about to burst forth in areas of Australian foreign affairs, economic policy, social welfare policy, urban affairs, immigration etc, are cropping up every week. The probability of the Labor Party ushering in new eras (should it become the government) in all these areas is not great, but the thought of what could happen is having enormous effects within the Public Service. The issue that is causing the greatest traumas is the thesis of the open public service: the scenario at the moment has been set by Mr Whitlam's new private secretary, Jim Spigelman, in his book "Secrecy: Political Censorship in Australia."

The theory of responsibility in Australian government has always been questionable: There are cases where ministers have resigned or offered to resign in keeping with British tradition, but more often ministers have been able to evade direct responsibility under the veil of secrecy (for instance, the Jetair episode). The dilemma has been that if secrecy is removed, it may be that responsibility cannot be pinpointed to a single person, namely the minister, but will be diffused amongst a huge conglomeration of public officials.

According to the popular myth, elections are the central part of Australian democracy — when the people choose the leaders they want; when they decide on whether the past performance of the government was satisfactory; when they indicate in which direction the country should move in the future.

According to theory, elections are in fact one part of the Australian democratic tradition — they form the realisation of the concept of collective responsibility, when the people sit in judgement on the past performance of the government. But they do not represent the only occasion of government accountability for, according to theory, there exists the concept of ministerial responsibility between elections, so that the people have a continual opportunity to ensure good and responsible government.

But does ministerial responsibility really exist in Australia? And is it a concept which is worth seeking? Under ministerial responsibility a single man takes the responsibility for all matters within his department of which he either has knowledge or which is consistent with set ministerial policy. [Other matters he need not take responsibility for: in those cases responsibility usually lies with one or more public ser-

vents.] The minister is the only person, the theory goes, who makes policy decisions; public servants simply carry out the administration of these decisions. When the public gets upset about a policy, they clearly should blame the minister. To ensure this, the public servants remain withdrawn from public view, and the public service largely works in secret. There are several problems. How often is the public aware of policy decisions made by a department and so able to effect ministerial responsibility? Is "administration" often the same as "policy", and, following from this, do we have policy makers who are not responsible to the public? What if a member of the public wants to complain about administration of a policy — should he go to the minister?

In his analysis of government responsibility, Jim Spigelman lists 5 criteria for democratic administration: "A process of administration: 1. Must not distort the ultimate sanction of periodic elections; 2. Must not interfere with the many ways by which public accountability is enforced between elections; 3. Must not restrict the possibility of any person or group, participating in decision making; 4. Must not create positions of power which are totally secure; 5. Must not limit the potential for political control of non-elected officials."

By opening up the public service, Spigelman argues, each of these five criteria is better enhanced than under a tight secrecy-ridden system of ministerial responsibility.

Firstly elections would be based on better-informed assessments of government policy, for the policy and the reasons for it would be public knowledge. Secondly, ministers would not only be found responsible for administration, but openness would allow personal culpability to be sheated home to the minister responsible. Responsibility would not be diffused, for while the minister is seen to be aware of the actions of his department, he will remain responsible, far more so than if the public was unaware of those actions.

Thirdly, the present system of secrecy allows for a situation where "the knowledge that governments have access to secret information encourages a mystique of government and a willingness by the public to give the government the benefit of any doubt."

The fourth point is one which concerns public servants the most: they fear the concept of being responsible themselves. The idea conjures up in public servants' minds, threats against their tenure and so on, despite the fact that the term

responsibility here is one which most professional organisations accept in written or unwritten codes of ethics. It has two parts: professional responsibility is simply that independent experts will be able to give professional criticism of the public servant's work. Further to this there should be some moral responsibility on the part of the public servant to ensure that his actions are in the interests of the public. The concept is not one of accountability — sacking and so on — but more of a self-discipline assisted by openness.

Finally, with secrecy the minister is faced with the dilemma that "the principal source of information about his department comes through the very system he is supposed to be controlling." Openness will create more sources of information and allow for closer political control.

Having debated that openness will bring about a more responsive and responsible government, Spigelman goes on to argue that such a government will also be more effective and efficient. Secrecy, he says, produces many inefficiencies, for example: greater weight is given to secret information simply because it is secret; the narrow application of the "need to know" criterion limits discussion and views; secrecy impedes independent verification: it excludes capable people from the bureaucracy who would otherwise be willing to join; it perpetuates preconceptions and traditional approaches.

What is more, secrecy impedes individual liberties in its effect on administrative law, crown privilege and public servants' freedom of speech. Unfortunately for public servants, Spigelman does not examine this last point in much detail, but he does come up with a most interesting suggestion: rather than having a list of topics which public servants may not speak about, there should be a list drawn up about which public servants may make public comment. "Only by creating specific rights, not by delineating specific offences, can generations of public service tradition be seriously affected."

Spigelman's book contains far more than is mentioned above — he has lists of "lies, half-truths and evasions", and "examples of secrecy", and there is a chapter on proposed reforms — but probably of most interest to political scientists is the discussion on responsibility. The book is well worth the \$2.50 just for that.

Jim Spigelman - Secrecy: Political Censorship in Australia (Angus and Robertson \$2.50 in paperback).





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outspoken and vigorous opponent. He challenged the overall cost, various architectural aspects of the design and of the misguided values on which decision-making by the Users Committee was based.

Wrigley's assessment of the plans for the new hall ranged from technical considerations through to fundamental criticisms that could only be described as shattering.

'Kitchens and bathrooms will have to be artificially lit and ventilated which is contrary to the brief requirements.'

'The curved kitchens will, I feel sure, prove difficult to be fitted out with cupboards etc. and unnecessarily costly...'

'I cannot help feeling that the major criticism that will be leveled at this building by the users will be the claustrophobic feeling engendered by the lounges...'

'The regulations allow us 75ft from the staircase to the furthest door in a sprinklered building and this would enable us to eliminate alternate staircases and provide some double rooms...'

In a memo to Dexter on the 24th of May 1971, Wrigley wrote:-
'The plans of the residence and the comments they evoked at Buildings and Grounds last Friday left me somewhat disturbed, with a feeling that certain planning defects were obscuring the less-obvious merits.'

All architectural problems can be crystallised down to the relative values that are placed on critical aspects of the problem - some required by the client, others by the architect - some of which are by no means compatible.'

Noise penetration and adequate daylight were seen by Wrigley as crucial issues.

'By clustering the study bedrooms in groups of five, Andrews has made the access corridor as private as possible, trafficked only by the users, thus reducing penetration of noise from the lounge.'

This is a good feature but it has unfortunately produced other problems which on balance, may be worse than the lounge noise problem:

1. Noise transference by windows so close to each other could be greater.
2. Direct vision into other rooms is undesirable.
3. Quality of view and light into lounges and to some study bedrooms has been severely curtailed.'

'Daylight penetration into the study bedrooms nearest to the bathroom and the lounge is undesirable and the view will be very limited. This is below an acceptable limit for this kind of building which is home for some students for a few years.'

The present plan does not seem to be rectifiable without increasing the area of the group or complete re-planning.'

In the same memo Wrigley also commented on garbage disposal, double rooms, staircases, lifts and internal room arrangements ('The desk is fixed and too far away from the window necessitating the provision of fixed desk lighting. Students often work in the daytime, particularly at weekends, and if at all possible the desk is preferred near the window. This could be possible but the dimension as drawn is very critical and may be inadequate for location of the bed.')

By June '71, Wrigley was again commenting in memo form to Dexter on attempts by Mr Metcalf (an associate of Andrews) to accommodate the criticism Wrigley had made on May 24th.

'He (Metcalf) borrowed a set of drawings on which I had sketched alternative arrangements and on 28 May he produced three further detail drawings in part answer to some of my comments.'

Of the alterations to various items Wrigley wrote:

'Noise penetration: New window positions shown on sketch 31 show a slight improvement from this point of view. Adequate daylight: Some improvement has been made to the daylighting quality in the bedroom adjacent to the toilets, but at the expense of the room adjacent which now has a very small window in comparison. This particular area of the plan has created many problems and I am coming to the conclusion that unless we increase the overall areas or re-plan on a different basis we shall not really overcome them. Internal room arrangements: Metcalf has now eliminated the fixed desk in favour of a loose one supplied by us. This will boost the furniture vote but comments from the students at the review yesterday support my view and justify the increase. Staircases: I reiterated to Metcalf my view about omitting alternate staircases and he had telexed Andrews about this. The reply I gather was unrepeatable. His reason is sociological but my opinion was confirmed at yesterday's review committee that alternate stairs would present no problem to the users.'

By May things seemed to have worsened. There are three study bedrooms in which, as drawn, it is impossible to fit a bed, desk and easy chair' headed a list of nineteen points that Wrigley made seemly as a last ditch stand over Andrew's drawings.

Dramatically Wrigley concluded his four page dossier of distress:

'One of the main reasons why Andrews was selected to design a residence in this location was his ability to create an interesting structural form appropriate to a city/university interface based upon a new sociological concept of student living.'

There is no doubt that he has satisfied both of these aspects - but at the cost of the small details of life that make life pleasant for the students.'

This plan repeats mistakes which have been made in the past and although the concept of grouping students around their common room with inter-group lateral communication is excellent (sociologically) it does have inherent planning difficulties which Andrews has had difficulty in reconciling with the concept. These difficulties have been pointed out in writing by me several times and whilst some have been corrected the fundamental problems are so inbuilt into the concept that nothing short of a redesign will remove them. Andrews has been unwilling to do this.

I and my colleagues have been most conscious of the fact that our agent is a professor of architecture, but we have to conclude on the evidence that, no matter how brilliant the concept, it has so determined the form as to work against the well being of the

students rather than for whom has been associated with the project only briefly. The students certainly did their best in the circumstances: but, because of their inexperience it would have been unrealistic to expect them to assume the responsibility of voting against the plans.... There is serious cause for concern about both the cost of the overall design and its tendency to maximise, rather than minimise the noise problem which I know from personal experience to be crucial in residences of this type. My worries can, I suspect, only be resolved by radical modifications in the design which Mr Andrews, because of understandable personal commitment to his original concept, is unlikely to agree to. The University should, however, consider very carefully whether the criticisms outlined below do not warrant a rupture with Mr Andrews and the appointment of a new architect. The delay which would result should not prevent the residence from being completed before the beginning of the 1974 academic year. An assurance was, moreover, given me on 27 June by the Secretary of the AUC that such a delay was unlikely to jeopardize the grant of \$1.1 million which has been made available by the Department of Education and Science for this project in the current triennium.'

Units of twelve students had changed to 25 and then back to ten. Warden Packard was not in favour of using Sullivans Creek as a feature in its present condition. Student Wright thought the site was excellent. Dr. Middleton felt that there was no large area where students could meet socially which she thought a very important point. Packard said he was concerned about the possibility of a fire hazard in the garbage chutes. Mr Bennett thought there would be congestion in the kitchens at dinner, but not with breakfast or lunch, and Mr Andrews had to leave early to catch the plane to Sydney.

Of all the details and trimmings most of the dissent revolved about a few factors. Given the funds available, was there a fair compromise between the aesthetics of the form, the new concept in lifestyle and the necessary amenities for everyday student needs? Ultimately then, will the accommodation fees be cheap enough for students? Unfortunately these questions were never really resolved by the committee.

At the crucial meeting of the Users Committee, where the decision was taken as to whether to commit some 230 students to living in the proposed residence, thinking was dominated by an alleged fait accompli over the use of AUC allocated funds and, would you believe, whether wash basins should and could be installed in individual rooms.

It was at this meeting, chaired forcibly by Packard that Kent volleyed his dissent into the minutes. He was the only member not to recommend approval of Andrews plans by the Building and Grounds Committee. The main salvo of objection was directed to the Vice-Chancellor. On the 29 June Kent wrote:

'Dear Sir John,....the majority of the Users' Committee appear to have approved of the plans less because they disagree with my misgivings about them than because they were reluctant to risk the alleged consequences of delaying the project. While there is no doubt about the sincerity of those members of the Committee who counselled against delay, there are grounds for concluding both that their anxiety is exaggerated and that their arguments exerted undue influence on a committee which has been seriously weakened by the absence of its chairman, Professor Williams, and by the illness of Dr Middleton. As a result, the decision of the committee hinged too heavily on the opinion of the two student representatives, one of whom was attending his

first meeting and the other of whom has been associated with the project only briefly. The students certainly did their best in the circumstances: but, because of their inexperience it would have been unrealistic to expect them to assume the responsibility of voting against the plans.... There is serious cause for concern about both the cost of the overall design and its tendency to maximise, rather than minimise the noise problem which I know from personal experience to be crucial in residences of this type. My worries can, I suspect, only be resolved by radical modifications in the design which Mr Andrews, because of understandable personal commitment to his original concept, is unlikely to agree to. The University should, however, consider very carefully whether the criticisms outlined below do not warrant a rupture with Mr Andrews and the appointment of a new architect. The delay which would result should not prevent the residence from being completed before the beginning of the 1974 academic year. An assurance was, moreover, given me on 27 June by the Secretary of the AUC that such a delay was unlikely to jeopardize the grant of \$1.1 million which has been made available by the Department of Education and Science for this project in the current triennium.'

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'It is my opinion that it is neither architecturally impossible nor precluded by the demands of timing and of AUC financial politics, to produce a residence which is both cheaper and more convenient for students to live in and which will not be aesthetically unpleasant.'

A copy of this letter was also sent by Kent to Dexter. The repercussions of this note-sending nicely substantiate a widely held suspicion that the ANU exists primarily for the

convenience of its Administrators. Instead of Kent's letter being seen as an expression of genuine concern by a member of this university it was interpreted as a product of an undesirable disruption. The sentiments of Kent's letter amounted to the same amendments that Architect/Designer Wrigley had been repeatedly advocating. Although Wrigley had attended most of the Users' Committee meetings, Dexter, in a note to him on August 4 accused Wrigley of an insidious attempt to promote his own views (amongst the gullible?).

In reply Wrigley wrote: 'The simple answer to your note is that Dr Kent was, as a member of the Users' Committee, taking his responsibility seriously and was seeking information to substantiate his opinion that we were not getting value for money from Andrews designs...'

You will recall that in February of this year I gave you a set of my recommended amendments together with a quantity surveyors estimate which clearly showed that the cost per place could have been reduced from the Andrews figure of \$5915 to \$5091 - a significant reduction of \$824 per place - some 14% less... My February statement to you was not discussed at all with me which I found to be most surprising in view of the need to borrow any funds over the AUC's \$5000 per place.

'My only concern has been to ensure that the university has the best possible building for the money available and it has become quite clear to me from some of the very early drawings that this residence and its cost represented poor value...'

'Dr Kent came to my office twice at his own request seeking guidance on several issues which concerned him as a member of the Users' Committee. I believe he was entitled to my advice...'

'If this was not in the university's and public's interest, then I stand to be corrected.'

Initially, Michael Wright, and later Rover Refshauge were members on the users Committee. Certainly Refshauge was well informed of the temperament of Committee members and advisors both inside and outside the meeting room. Yet his influence did not extend beyond SRC meetings where appropriate though politically innocuous motions were passed.

The case for redesign is strengthened because the architect has not heeded sufficiently the following passage of his brief: The architects attention is drawn to the fact that the major complaint of students in residential accommodation is of disturbance from noise. This factor should influence initial planning rather than later reliance on remedial treatment. (My emphasis)'

In conclusion Kent wrote: 'It is my opinion that it is neither architecturally impossible nor precluded by the demands of timing and of AUC financial politics, to produce a residence which is both cheaper and more convenient for students to live in and which will not be aesthetically unpleasant.'

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It is virtually unbelievable that Refshauge ignored Woroni, the main channel of communication to students, over these developments. It will be students who have to live in the new hall.

Even for the preparation of this article Refshauge refused to disclose relevant documents that he had received as President of the Students' Association and member of the User's Committee. Glorifying in the petty intrigues that characterise maladministration Refshauge censored his files and opened his mouth.. 'Derek Wrigley's job is in jeopardy over this and that was quite obvious'.

As demonstrated at a press conference earlier this year, Dr Williams, Vice-Chancellor elect from New Zealand's deep south, will undoubtedly encourage students to undertake negotiations in confidence next year. Students must preserve the right to exercise their own discretion in all matters. Refshauge, already removed into the pathetic power lobbies of the Chancellor, can no longer be relied upon by students. Refshauge argued vainly at the last Council meeting for it to consider the stability of the AUC grant for the residence. If the Council saw that the grant would not be jeopardised by further delay then the plans should be returned to the User's Committee, he said.

Indeed the only remaining hope that the job will be done properly - and it should be done properly - is that tenders will exceed the budget ceiling.

With Grauate House characterising the contemporary planning capacity of this university, it is not beyond average imagination to expect its residents to boycott their home over the possibility of there being another residential catastrophe.

If only they knew.

John Reid

This issue was... Edited by P. Stuart Foss, and designed by David Spratt. Blueprint graphics by John Reid & cartoons by Paul Hartigan and Michael Salmon. Advertising solicited by John Grimau (tel: 492444). Produced with a little help from our friends and John Reid, Mike Daffey, Moira Scollay, Andrew McCredie, Joanne Langenburg and the lovely Rigmor-Helene.

AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN AID PROGRAMME

Are you concerned about Internationalism and the freedom of movement between peoples of all nations? Do you hold strong views on aid - the overseas student programme?

Have you done, or are you engaged in, research into any aspect of foreign aid?

The Overseas Student Service (O.S.S.) would like to hear from you.

A Parliamentary Sub-Committee has been established to look into Foreign Aid. Gough Whitlam asks questions about overseas students. Already there has been a dramatic decrease in the numbers of overseas students admitted at sub-tertiary level. What do you think of the present Government's Policy? What policy would you hope a Labour Government would adopt?

Please send your views to:

The O.S.S., c/- S.U.C. University of N.S.W.,
Box 1, Kensington, NSW 2033

A Federal election special, incorporating interviews with politicians and an academic.

A look at some of the leading contestants, their philosophies, and the issues which they see as being important.

Interviews with Dunstan, Chipp, Cairns, Fraser, Beasley and Henry Mayer.

Education

John Reid interviewed Malcolm Fraser, Minister for Education and Science, on Thursday September 28, and Kim Beasley, his Labor counterpart, the following day. Their answers to similar sets of questions are juxtaposed for your cognitive convenience.



Beasley - More the social philosopher, and a good one too.



Fraser - Preserving what the mothercountry chose to forget

Need and socio-economic status.

Reid: Mr Beasley, do you think success in the present school system is in most cases an expression of one's socio-economic background?

Beasley: Absolutely — clearly this is true in the case of Commonwealth Scholarships.

Reid: You mean ... Well that answers the question in the affirmative doesn't it?

Beasley: Yes it does. But it is necessary to understand that success in gaining a Commonwealth Secondary Scholarship is not based on study or cramming. It's based on the ability to perceive quantity and above all on the cognitive use of language. In families of low socio-economic status language is not used in a way that I might call analytic, or in a literary style, as in middle and upper middle class homes where there is a lot of reading to the children. The Scholarship exams pick out those children with linguistic skills with unerring accuracy. The Australian Council for Education Research has just completed a piece of research which shows on a sampling of the kids who got scholarships that in 95% of the cases the parents declared that if their child had not got a secondary scholarship they would have completed a secondary education without it. Now Menzies said when he introduced the scheme that its purpose was to enable those children who would not otherwise get a secondary education to get one. It has just not done that at all.

The British do not give scholarships in this manner. They make grants on the basis of need. They claim, at least the Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher has claimed — she is the Minister for Education Research I think — that 30% of their university students therefore come from the wage earning sections of the popul-

ation. It's about 2% here.

Reid: Mr Fraser, do you think success in the present school system is in most cases an expression of one's socio-economic background?

Fraser: There are a lot of people who say it is. I doubt it.

Reid: When you say you doubt that success in the school system is linked to one's socio-economic....

Fraser: That wasn't how you put it I don't think, was it?

Reid: Ah well, I said, do you think success in the present school system is in most cases an expression of one's socio-economic background?

Fraser: Well that's not the same thing.

Reid: Well that was the question ... then you said you doubted it.

Fraser: Well obviously background has an influence, but the way you put it, 'is an expression of' seems to indicate some sort of logical connection, or necessary connection, and in logical terms there is no necessary connection.

Reid: Do you see the school system as having a polarising effect — ie, the disadvantaged are further disadvantaged while the elite are made more so?

Fraser: No I don't. I think the opposite has happened. You've only got to look at the increasing retention rates in Government schools. For example relate Commonwealth Scholarships awarded in the last year at Government schools and see what proportion of them go on to university with the proportion that go to university on Commonwealth Scholarships awarded in the last year at independent schools. The proportions are not greatly different.

Reid: Mr Beasley?

Beasley: Oh! No question about the polarising effect. We are following the American path. The people of the educational ghettos are dramatised in the USA because they're black. They're not dramatised here. But exactly the same thing is true — the children

of the poor areas have no kindergartens, no pre-school education. They can't go through secondary education and they do not get to tertiary level.

It has also been demonstrated that if a child who comes from a home which is defective in the cognitive use of language, gets a pre-school education then it can come right up to standard. If it doesn't it goes on with accumulative disadvantage — because that's the way the schooling system is geared.

Reid: Why do you think Mr Fraser said he thought quite the opposite had happened.

Beasley: I don't think the last four ministers for Education and Science — Bowen: Kings college and University of Sydney; Gorton: Geelong and Oxford; Fairbairn: Geelong and Oxford and Fraser: Melbourne Grammar and Oxford — realise where our education tradition comes from.

The Anglican Church had such a fright from Cromwell's new model army that they were determined that the lower orders would not get an education again. That is the basis of England's education for the next 250 years. In Scotland where the Puritans won and they wanted everyone to be able to read the Bible, they gave practically universal education more than 200 years before England had it. Now look at the consequences. Western Australia, a typical Anglican foundation — founded in 1829 — did not get a High School until 1911 — 82 years. Dunedin, a typical Scottish foundation — founded in 1848 — by 1861, which is only 13 years, had Otago Boys High School, Otago Girls High School and the university of Otago.

Now we did not get High Schools in Western Australia until we had a Scottish Revolution, with Cecil Andrews taking over the Department of Education. Alec Mac-

Callum becoming an influential figure in the Labor Party and then they brought the Rosses and the Murdochs and they established a free university and the real Scottish revolution went through. Before that John Forrest believed that all education of a secondary character should be left to the churches. Therefore there were no state ones at all. However, we've caught up on a lot of this in Western Australia. But there is this backlog.

Also, the state of Victoria, more than any other, has believed that super education should be for those who pay for it — I'm not deriding the excellence of schools that have come into being like Melbourne University high — but in Victoria and South Australia the really good schools are considered to be the private ones. Exception always existed.

For example in NSW, Fort Street was considered to be a really good school. However, I think if one considers education tradition, it will be seen that there was for a long time the deliberate exclusion of Catholics in Ireland from education, non-conformists in England from education. In fact exclusion of any one who couldn't pay. I think Fraser quite unconsciously revealed this when he said that parents who really care for their children should send them to a private school. You have this English tradition of neglect of the lower orders. And because of course we're not as bad as that now I think some of the people brought up in that tradition really think that what we've got is a great improvement.

Reid: Then you believe there is still a great need for unequal application of resources — if we are to achieve equality in educational opportunity?

Beasley: That's right. There should be positive discrimination in favour of children from low socio-economic groups. This by the way is going to be a big problem to

organise. But if we don't do this, I don't think anything else matters in terms of getting equality. You don't produce equality by making the poor school a good school if the children in it are still too poor to stay there and make use of it.

There is one other great problem in Australia — exactly the same thing applies to the British working class too — they never know what's going on — but never.

Reid: How do you mean?

Beasley: I mean ... Take for example the research the Brotherhood of St. Lawrence did on the Victorian State Government provision of text books for poor children in that state.

They found that the poor families never knew a damn thing about them — and it doesn't matter if the Headmaster sends a note home — they still don't know. Apparently they don't read it. I think a lot more adults than we guess are in fact dislectic — they never were picked up in their school in their generation. This is why I think it's terribly important to do what we propose for underprivileged kids. We know those kids are at school. We can actually trace those kids and give them the assistance about uniforms, about maintenance, about school books, about fees if there are fees, and so on. We know those registered with child welfare.

Reid: You won't get everyone this way.

Beasley: True. This is why I want to do what the Inner London Education authority does. Treat headmasters as professional people. Just as your Vice-Chancellor has a discretionary fund. We can pick up calamities as they set in. Well similarly — you get other problems that won't come into recognised categories. The old man's an alcoholic — all the money is spent — they belong to what we call the undeserving poor. You can say it's his own fault —

Continued from previous page.

but the kid is still hit. The headmaster can know these circumstances. A headmaster's discretionary fund could be used in these cases.

Reid: Mr Fraser, do you think it's necessary for the Commonwealth to provide finance to assist in the education of individuals on the basis of need rather than intelligence as measured within the context of the present education system?

Fraser: That depends partly on the level. At the tertiary level I'm quite sure that one of the criteria must be the level of intelligence or academic ability — and then there is an element of need built into that with a means test and living allowance attached to it. At the school level you could make an argument for a different sort of assistance. Different sorts of assistance are provided here for aboriginal and migrant children.

At the upper secondary level the new scholarships are based admittedly on tests in a school assessment, but a greater part of the allowance or scholarship is actually based on family income as in the new adjusted-universities means test. So there's an element of both.

Reid: Do you agree with this attempt to combine the two, Mr Beasley?

Beasley: I think it's important. Yes.

Reid: Mr Fraser — you'd be opposed then to all scholarships being based on need?

Fraser: Well they wouldn't then be scholarships would they?

Reid: In a sense.

Fraser: I'm not against picking up areas of disadvantaged children and trying to do something special — positive discrimination, and I've just mentioned 2 areas where this is done, and I think there's scope for this sort of policy to be extended, but that sort of policy doesn't want to get...
Reid: You wouldn't want to abandon the commonwealth scholarship scheme and use that money for positive discrimination?

Fraser: It does positively discriminate, but it depends what you're positively discriminating for.

Reid: Right well positively....
Fraser: And positively discriminating in favour of people who've got the greatest chance of going through a university and then, if they've got a low family income, you can give them additional assistance.

Reid: Mr Beasley would you like to see all the Commonwealth Secondary Scholarships awarded on the basis of need?

Beasley: Oh no I would not. And as a matter of fact you've got a tremendously difficult task if you wanted to switch from the system because you've got all the expectations of lots of young people. You then have a problem in a sense. Picking out the sort of people who are picked out by the existing scholarship system — picking out the really poor and underprivileged for those reasons and leaving a middle gap. Well, that middle gap worries me very much and we need to do a lot of thinking about those children.

Reid: Would you, then, make any modifications?
Beasley: I would not modify commonwealth scholarships any further.

Behind all this is the larger question of the children who don't get a chance for a further education regardless of whether they got a scholarship or not — and some of them may be of the highest IQ. You

see, this is one of the interesting things. Children who suffer from certain disabilities have disastrous educational experiences. Dyslectics may intrinsically have genius IQs. If they do go through Primary education they can conceal from everybody associated with them that they are not really reading or calculating. They can do brilliant short cuts but, nevertheless, educationally they're paralysed. Now they've found they can easily cure dyslectics. These things have not been found out in the past and a lot of people therefore, have been assumed to be unintelligent when in fact they're highly intelligent. I think we've got to revise a lot in the light of new findings. What is intelligence? We should not be very confident that all the test we have so far devised really pick it up.

Structure, Policy, Research, Change

Reid: Mr Fraser — What about the facility for change. Do you think there are sufficient avenues channelling information to people instrumental in formulating Liberal Party Education policy. Information from education research centres, community groups, teachers and students unions?

Fraser: Well, there are education committees in all the states which keep a wide link and have wide communications with people in education. They meet quite regularly depending on the states. They pass their resolutions or view either direct to me or through the Liberal Party organisational channels. They have an influence on policy. The main contents are pretty broad — not only through the department but through direct approaches to me.

Reid: I imagine they would cover overseas centres as well?

Fraser: They come in mostly through the Department.

Reid: Could you briefly elucidate what you see as the main aims and objectives of the Liberal Party education policy?

Fraser: Well I'll give you a document, which quite concisely, in about 1½ pages, sets out the broad objectives which the party has, and, which we're working towards. It's a document that also relates programmes and what has been achieved in quantitative terms up to the time the document was printed. But its out of date now because a number of new policies have been introduced since. But the philosophy part of it isn't.

Reid: Could you elucidate how you would see this at variance with Labor Party policies?
Fraser: Well the Labor Party pursues the false notion that things can be provided free. The argument really is about who should pay for them. In the university area, they say that they want to abolish fees. Now to abolish fees — that costs a certain amount — but to make sense of that policy, you've got to provide living allowances probably on a means tested basis to everyone who requires them. That would cost a great deal more. And if I've got 30 or 40 million dollars additional to spend on education in any one year I've got to think of priorities. I don't think my first priority would be the abolition of tertiary fees.

Reid: Does anything come to mind as a first priority?
Fraser: Well one of the things that I have as a high priority is getting more funds for primary and secondary school construction. We've got a large injection of funds in that area which will start to make itself felt over the next 2 or 3 years: Well if you've got another 30 or 40 million dollars you might want to spend, there are a number of areas which you'd have to consider, and that might be in the area of handicapped children, isolated children, pre-schools, and in all of these areas you'd have to stack up the requirements against the particular requirements of abolition of fees for example.

Reid: Mr Beasley — what do you see as the main or most important aspects of the ALP attitude on education?
Beasley: Well I think there is one aspect of education that is simply not being emphasised at present. People are all the time speaking about the needs of schools as institutions and needs of universities as institutions but not about the needs of children or young people. You can have the finest school, I think of a very good one, Hollywood school in Western Australia, but the fact remains that the children in the district are too poor to stay in it and no one looks at this problem. So our programme is not merely to assist poor schools but it is also to assist poor scholars.

I want to say one thing too about free universities. The barrier is not just a question of fees, which is a minor barrier though a very serious one. A bigger barrier is involved in living allowances.

If we make all the universities free which is the Labour Party programme I don't delude myself that this means that a lot of poor people are going to get into them. It means initially that you have waded the fees of a lot of relatively well-to-do people....
Reid: In fact it would be making a gift to a lot of people of what they could easily afford?
Beasley: Yes — it means another \$34m chucked to the upper classes. But there still is an important principle, whether they're well to do or not, about education being free. But I must point out — I can't say that this is the thinking of the Labor Party — I would be very much happier spending the millions that it will cost to make universities free, at least initially, in providing bursaries for students.

It may well be that universities become free first however. There is such a set for this amongst students and also people in the ALP. Mr Whitlam has made a firm promise on free universities. That does not seem to me to be the highest priority in education — it will chronically aggravate inequality — that's a personal view.
Reid: Some student politicians have suggested to me that the Labor Party cannot claim to have a real education policy in that it has never had an expert body sitting down and working out a balanced set of aims or objectives. Is this valid comment?
Beasley: No, it isn't. I think it has a highly experienced body which has had access to highly expert advice.
Reid: They would assert that issues are only researched as they arise leading to a collection of non-cohesive points.
Beasley: That is not a description of the Labor Party platform. They could not have made a statement like that if they had gone to the trouble of analysing the printed platform which takes three or four

pages of the Labor Parties whole platform. And its quite systematic — on all subjects from preschool education to open universities. But of course if you want to make a systematic statement about education you might have several volumes and its not practical for political party platforms to be of that nature.

Reid: Then, how has the Labor Party worked out its education policy?

Beasley: Well, it has a Parliamentary Education Committee which travels Australia and gets evidence from all sorts of people.

Reid: You're Chairman of that aren't you?

Beasley: Yes. And it has a Federal Executive body. There is a certain common membership of that too.

Reid: Bill Hartley is chairman of that?

Beasley: Yes he is Chairman this year. And that can also travel Australia getting evidence. I don't think however that its done so. But the Parliamentary one is supposed to fill in the skeleton of the conference policies — the Federal Executive body is supposed to make recommendations about changes in the platform.

Reid: Do you see any objectionable Liberal priorities in education?

Beasley: We strongly object to their flat rate grants. Lets just consider secondary education in the coming budget. The first thing to realise is that this budget is becoming law. If there is a change of government we will not permit it to continue beyond the school year 1973. It doesn't mean we won't add things to it — but fundamentally its there. The national cost of educating a child in a state high school is \$600. Under the Liberal proposal all private schools will get \$120, that's a fifth, and they hope that the states will make a matching grant of another \$120. Now \$120 is given to Geelong Grammar whose fees are \$1,000 a year and to a catholic school whose fees are \$60 a year. The Conservatives in the UK will not have a bar of this. The Right Honorable Margaret Thatcher claims they give Eaton, Harrow, Clifton and all the greater public schools nothing at all. They do not even give the parents tax exemption. It costs Two thousand pounds a year to go to Eaton or Harrow. And there is no tax exemption whatever on what the parents spend. Whereas in lots of poorer private schools they will pay the entire salary of the teacher and extend the classrooms and do many things. In other words they have a criteria of need. Now I would say the same thing, really, in the field of State High schools in Australia. There are some state high schools that are getting swimming pools while others do not have the bare necessities.

Reid: Lets assume the Labor Party gets into office in the coming election. How will Labor priorities be translated into action?
Beasley: Tremendously practical things will be done the instant a Labor Government is formed. The first most urgent thing of course — to be done straight away — before Christmas — that is if the election is before Christmas — I don't know when that Billy's going to have it — its his private secret apparently — it doesn't concern the nation — will be the appointment of the Schools Commission. The second thing will be the

appointment of any sort of body that has to do a long term job. For instance if we're going to establish open universities — and this is one of my dearest projects — you've got to get the council of that university appointed — you've got to get people over studying what's what in Britain — these things take about three years to do so that's got to start straight away.

Mr Whitlam's promises — assumption by the Commonwealth of matching grants from the states and free universities. And the very thing I mentioned to you before — education for the poor and disadvantaged. The children of widows, of deserted wives, of large families with low incomes, of invalid and aged pensioners, or families where the bread winner has met disaster, or is unemployed for a considerable period of time. All of whom we exactly know. Those, in the states, who are the recipients child welfare. We will devise a scheme that will assist them. The model scheme I have in mind is the deceased soldiers' children's education assistance. This is going to be quite expensive — a thing to build up — but it really is aiming at the continuance at school of the underprivileged.

Reid: I feel we haven't quite put our finger on where the money is going to come from to award these bursaries on a need basis — especially if free universities are to be initiated as well.

Beasley: Without any change in the tax structure Commonwealth Revenue rises at the rate of about \$800 million a year. Now the Government has enormously increased expenditure while cutting tax by 10%. Therefore in a Parliament of 3 years, the revenue rises by approximately 2 billion 400 million. It just depends on what you allocate your rising resources on. Well we give, I feel, a higher priority to education than does the Government.

Reid: Mr Fraser, does education rate low on the Government's Federal list of priorities?
Fraser: I don't think it does rate low. Expenditure has been rising more rapidly than in any other area. Look at the innovations and new policies that have been introduced over the last 10 years and especially over the last 12 months. Commonwealth involvement has grown very greatly indeed. From virtually nil to being very substantial indeed.

Reid: Are there any election issues that you would place above education as being something on a national basis that is more important?

Fraser: I don't think its possible that one issue is more important than another. Education is a high national priority, but there are other high national priorities — social welfare, defence, and policies relating to national development of different kinds. To say one is more important than another I think, is virtually impossible.

Reid: Mr Beasley — you think there has been an importance rating by the Liberals?

Beasley: Well, I think we've paid an appallingly high price for fear in the past. There has been a political invested interest by the Liberals in getting DLP preferences by suggesting that the Chinese are about to attack us. Every election has been based on whose coming south and then after the election the issue is for-

gotten. This factor of fear has been a powerful weapon and I think its running out. This is why I think the Government is going to drop its project of spending 100 million dollars on destroyers. Now I'm not against defence expenditure, but I think those destroyers would just be sitting ducks for aerial attack. It would be a disastrous way of spending money on defence. But you could swipe a fair few high schools and capital costs in education in 3 destroyers at \$100 million each.

Reid: So in fact some of the money could come from reduced defence expenditure?
Beasley: Well. Differently spent defence revenue. Its not so much a question of reduction but more effective spending.

I believe that Australia can afford to educate its children. If that meant we would not have reduced income tax by 10% as the Liberals have done, well and good, I'm prepared to face that. I think that the sort of demand there is for transformation in education is shown by the Government using this 215 million dollars as its contribution to the new capital costs. But this is over 5 years — so its only \$43 million a year. Most people in Australia have a sense of what is needed and \$215 million sounds a lot but \$43 million doesn't sound much at all so they take a 5 year period.

But even if you look at that 5 year period the ANU gets \$114 million over the next 3 years — \$38 million per year. Over 5 years if that rate stayed it would be \$190 million — well that's on 5 or 6 thousand students whereas the other is going as an addition to all the schools in Australia. That puts it into perspective doesn't it?

Reid: How do you propose to maintain perspective, synthesise new and relevant information and channel it to those who will keep Labor education policy up to date?
Beasley: The schools commission will play this roll — just as the Universities Commission determines the needs of universities. The Schools Commission has obviously got to have command over education research with its own research organs subordinate to it. There is a lot of research already in existence in the country — done by universities, by the Australian Council for Education Research and a flow of information from overseas. It will be the function of the Schools Commission to be the organ of intelligence for education at primary and secondary level for the Commonwealth Government.

Therefore it will sponsor seminars of a national and international character, it will sponsor teachers and other educationalists going abroad to study. It will publish all these findings and disseminate them. And within Commonwealth territory, where there is no constitutional problem it will conduct experimental research schools of its own.

Reid: Mr Fraser — with the increasing number of national and international centres researching into education, do you think there is a problem in trying to integrate results and conclusions?

Fraser: Well one of the things Australia has needed is more educational research on an Australian basis. This is why the Partridge Committee has been established. And there will be more education research

undertaken. I think that one of the tasks the Partridge Committee sees for itself is to assess also the research that has been going on — to see where the deficiencies are in the research areas. Making this kind of assessment they'll obviously be wanting to take into account research undertaken overseas and its relevance for Australia. I think that before the Partridge Committee we had a gap — but its beginning to fill an area which is going to be increasingly important in the development of new policies.

Reid: Have you read books or works by Ivan Illich, Paul Goodman or John Holt?

Fraser: No.

Reid: Mr Beasley?

Beasley: I have made quite a close study of Ivan Illich.

Reid: Do you want to comment at all on what he has to say?

Beasley: Well, some of his destructive criticism is brilliant and valid. He has dramatised the appalling inequalities in education expenditure. The student who goes on to do an honours degree at university has 20 times the amount invested in him than does the kid who spends three years at a high school. Now this is not a denunciation of university students but Illich has drawn attention to the tremendous inequality that does exist. When however, he argues for the Deschooling of society and asks for lists of people who are expert in some subjects to put their names in the papers so that those who want their skills can send their children to match this list of experts. Well, heavens above, I know what would happen. The people most in need of education would never understand the significance of the people on the lists and children would simply be going without education. I really don't see why you should cease to have schools in the locality to which the children of the locality may go. Nevertheless I think that he has made an enormously stimulating contribution like many people who are anarchists. I mean philosophical anarchists. I'm not using this as a term or abuse. He is a splendid destructive analyst but what he is putting together in its place doesn't impress me as something that can work.

Reid: Mr Fraser — Do you think the research section of Education and Science should be increased in size and scope?
Fraser: I believe it will be.

Reid: When? To what extent?
Fraser: Well its a continuing process in the development of a Department.

Reid: Do you see an urgent need for this to be done?
Fraser: Well its a continuous process of improvement, and again, here, one of the methods of getting additional research in is through the Partridge Committee, through the additional support being made available to that.

Reid: Mr Beasley — if you became Minister for Education and Science would you increase the size and scope of that departments research section?
Beasley: I think this is absolutely inevitable. Its not just a question of believing in research. You see, the present Governments policy — I'm just speaking now of the private schools sector — of saying, "right, how many secondary pupils have you got, well, here's \$120 for each", and not being concerned whether one school is in desperate need and the

other one is very affluent is of course terribly simple. But the moment you start looking in terms of need you've got to know how many poor pupils one school has and you must know a lot more things to be able to direct in an optimum manner.

Reid: So you would enlarge this section to explore this area?

Beasley: Yes. It must do. Of course some states might be able to give us instant information about the needs of their schools — certainly state education departments should be able to do so. On the other hand the evidence is overwhelming at the present time.

Reid: So in fact there is a need to define socially deprived areas in Australia and make a special effort in these areas to provide pre-school facilities.....?

Beasley: Yes. This is the problem at every level — at every level — to finance the poor young man or woman through university — to go to all those suburbs that haven't got pre-school education — they're invariably the underprivileged ones. This is why, in a sense, we will have to be unfair when we start setting up pre-schools Commissions. We will have to start pre-schools in the poor areas and you won't have enough teachers for all of them to begin with.

Reid: Mr Fraser — the need to define socially deprived areas?

Fraser: In regard to pre-school facilities I think this is already happening with the new child-care programme.

Reid: What of building funds for schools and finance for remedial teachers and social workers. Do you see these as important as well?
Fraser: Well, social workers are going to be attached to the migrant program, but there is an area where you've got to have a look and see what the states themselves are doing. In the new capital aid programme, for example, I hope very much that the states will pick out particular areas where there is greatest hardship and greatest difficulty. We've expressed the intention, the objectives, of this capital aid programme. We want it to establish greater equality of education facilities such as school buildings. But priority areas in Victoria are not the same as priority areas in Queensland. Different sets of criteria probably apply between the two systems. The education departments in each state should best know their own priority areas.

Part-time students and open universities

Reid: Mr Fraser, are you aware of the extensive research that was made into part time study and students at the ANU by the Education Research Unit in 1968. That's when it was initiated, there have been ramifications from then — right up to the present time.

Fraser: Not in close detail, No.

Reid: The outcome of this survey was that part time students — because they were generally more mature and more certain of their motivation — were as good as, if not better than full time students. It is the University environment — geared to full time study — that causes high discontinuance from courses by part time students. Do you think that enough

is being done to provide reasonable access to tertiary education resources for mature aged people in employment?

Fraser: In some states — Not in others.

Reid: Which states?

Fraser: Well NSW at the moment is best served. When Victoria has its fourth university established it will be very well served also. St. Lucia University also does quite well.

Reid: Do you see there being a need for another institution in the ACT at tertiary level?

Fraser: Perhaps at some stage there's bound to be.

Reid: Mr Beasley, do you think the decision taken recently by the ANU Council, and based on the 1968 ERU survey was adequate in meeting the needs of part time students?

Beasley: You must not manoeuvre me into commenting on this as I am a member of the University Council and its education committee.....

Reid: Well, in terms of providing financial resources to enable a meaningful change in conditions, part time students at the ANU have been ignored by the University Council; What do you think should be done then to provide access to tertiary education resources for mature aged people in employment?

Beasley: I want real money put behind part time centres with libraries and tutors for them. I do value the Oxford/Cambridge tradition and the ideas of full time university tuition. I also value residential colleges. But the plain truth is that Australia has need of other things. It has need of universities for the fellow who's got to work. We have really been reluctant to face this fact. So far as I know the only university that has fully faced it is Macquarie.

Now what Macquarie has done in accepting the fact that the part time student is an important man or woman I want done all the way through. There remain however, people who are still not going to come into a university. This is why we are interested in open universities and open institutes of further education. Some of these could sponsor re-training where occupations go out of existence, this however, is moving over to the field of technology.

Reid: Mr Fraser, do you think there is a need to establish an open university in Australia — perhaps that's an incorrect term — not just an open university but shall we say an open tertiary institution?

Fraser: Well, I don't know what you mean by that — this is an emotive term and before they established the open university in Britain some of them involved came out to New England and Macquarie to see how external studies ought to be run. Just because they use a catchy name like an open university people think there's something in Britain that does not exist in Australia. It's not really true.

Reid: I would think of an open university in terms of an educational centre that doesn't have any strict admission requirements — if one is interested to be involved well that's fine.

Fraser: It has its admission requirements which are not the formal ones of other universities. It also has academic progress, as being a criteria for being able to stay there. Universities in Australia — and I

know Macquarie especially with maturer aged students, have been experimenting with other methods of selection with their external students. So again this is not something that the British have got on their own by any means. I do not condemn the open university. But I do object to people who say that this is something that exists in Britain and nothing of a similar kind exists in Australia. What they have done in Britain is to provide external studies facilities which are run by people who have no student contact. There are other people who argue, I would have thought with some validity, that tutors, lecturers and people running external studies would probably do better if they belonged to a university with a normal campus, and therefore, had normal student contact. This is the Australian practice. It is interesting to watch what's happening in Britain to see whether it turns out to be better than what New England or Macquarie does. I would have thought the British in this case were very much open to question.

Reid: But what about the desirability of allocating finance to enable courses to go on air, on radio, on TV, for, in fact, any one who's interested in tuning in?

Fraser: NSW has its own radio station doesn't it?

Reid: Well something on a national scale — financed by Commonwealth money.

Fraser: I would have thought it might be better built around existing institutions at the present time. You've got problems of geography here that you haven't got in Britain.

Reid: Well what about using the ABC facilities. The existing national network for running something like 'university of the air'.

Fraser: Yes, but who's going to run it — the ABC or existing institutions or What I'm saying is that I think this sort of thing is best run, or built around an existing institution which would have to be an education institution, not the ABC.

Reid: Then it would need surely to have some grant made to it in order to undertake this?

Fraser: Where universities do this they get funds for it.

Reid: So you think that the initiative rests with universities?
Fraser: I think in many of these areas initiative rests with the universities — yes.

Reid: So the step could be that the universities might make submissions to the Government?

Fraser: To the Universities Commissions, its not the same thing.

Reid: Mr Beasley, what do you see as the essence of 'open universities'?

Beasley: Well, as it is in the United Kingdom. There are no matriculation requirements. Any person can enroll. The very connotation of the word 'open' — the sword will be for him that can take it. You may find of course that it won't have lower standards than any university but nevertheless the mere maturity of many people and their ability to select subjects that they want to study may help. The open university uses the technique of radio and TV. It must have of course, a magnificent lending library. It must have seminar facilities to allow students to come together from time to time. Andrew Bain wrote

to me and asked for a committee to examine open universities and I said, for heavens sake, we want to get on with the job. What we'd do is appoint a council to establish the university and some members of it can go and have a look what's being done in Britain. But just in the same way as you create a university, you get your council going and say, well OK, do the job. The fact that an open university is going to come into existence is accepted. Its not a question for further examination.

Reid: It is accepted by the Labor Party?

Beasley: Yes. The Labor Party platform provides for open forms of further education. They are thoroughly desirable and universities have to be adapted to meet their needs. Just how to do it is the next thing. The open university was criticised by academics in Britain originally.

Now some of the ablest academics want to go onto its staff. They've found it stimulating. I think open universities are going to be more expensive in Australia than in the UK. The factor of distance is involved. Whereas they can use one TV station in Britain, we may well need more. Its probably a good thing that it's going to come into existence at about the same time as colour TV because this could be important in certain types of lectures. Realistically you must have residential centres associated with open universities so that people can come from time to time for seminars — of six or seven weeks duration. Also it must have facilities for printing or cyclostyling lectures to send out.

Reid: Do you see open universities falling into a trap that I think you identified earlier. Although there are no fees or entrance requirements students might still be disadvantaged because of economic factors affecting the continuation of enrollment. You would see the courses of an open university as being quite compatible with full time employment?

Beasley: Oh yes. But the problem they find emerging in England I imagine will emerge here. The people who see it as a fast opportunity are teachers. They already have graduated. They're out in the country. They're out teaching. It's a marvellous way of continuing education for them. I'm not against that. I'm all for it, but I'd be terribly shattered if you were not getting the people who had no education at all — those who left after 2 or 3 years high school — coming in to try and do a course of reading in some subject that interested them. In Britain they have had to take special measures all the time, I think, to draw the advantages and the possibilities of open universities towards other people. You see people who have been to university, even if they've had to drop their university studies, are much more likely to pick it up through an open university because they're not frightened of universities. But the people who have not been to universities tend to be really frightened of being a university student. Even though they could probably study many fields extremely well.

Don Chipp

Andrew Podger and David Spratt interview the minister for customs and excise.



Podger: What ideas did you bring back from your overseas trip?

Chipp: I came back with two very firm conclusions.

Firstly, to use law enforcement concepts as a device for containing the spread of drug abuse is a fallacy — it does not work. The situation in the US, where it is completely out of hand, proves this. As far as drugs of addiction (for example, the opiates) are concerned, it is clear to me, that to rely on law enforcement concepts is both unsuccessful and counter-productive.

Secondly, while the British haven't solved the problem of curing addicts, because there seems to be no cure, they have succeeded in containing the spread of drug abuse. They treat abusers (as opposed to users) as sick people, and confess as a government that there are such people who need these drugs, and therefore if they, as a government supply them, it will cut out the inbuilt mechanism of spreading drug abuse. As well, it will give the government a chance to help those people who are palpably sick.

Spratt: Do you see any change in the Australian government's attitude?

Chipp: As far as addictive drugs are concerned, all I'm asking for is that my government sends a qualified survey team overseas to study the various cultures and systems of coping with drug abuse, and report back. Drug abuse is not a disease, but a symptom of a disease, and because a system works in one country, it does not necessarily follow that it will work here.

For the non-addictive drugs (specifically grass,

hashish, LSD, cocaine) I am still opposed to legalisation. Firstly one must ask, "what is the cut off point — grass, or hashish or hashish oil (which is 42% THC)?" and so on. Secondly, once legalised, it cannot be delegalised, if future evidence were to deem this desirable. The prohibition attempt in the US demonstrates this. Thirdly I believe that it would mean, nationally, a massive increase in cannabis use.

Spratt: Is that a bad thing?

Chipp: I will admit that there is not a thread of conclusive evidence that marijuana is addictive, harmful, or that it leads on to harder drugs. On the other hand, danger signals which must cause one concern are appearing — in particular, the research of Dr Lynch in New York and Prof. Campbell in Bristol. Their results don't necessarily prove a damn thing, but they are a possibility. I will put it no higher than that. It would be dishonest to anybody to say that it has been proved that cannabis is harmful. But it would be irresponsible to sanction or legalise something on which virtually no research has been done, and about which there are danger signals.

Spratt: You have expressed some very strong ideas on youth today?

Chipp: Yes. They have many more pressures upon them than any other section of the community. They are more sensitive to world problems — hunger, illiteracy, racism, intolerance, prejudice, war.

As well, the education system has undergone a revolution in the last decade. Today you are told certain philosophies — religious, sexual, moral and so on — but as soon as the education system tells you

this, it also says, "don't believe it, question it, query it, probe behind it" — and that's marvellous.

On the other hand, the social education system has not correspondingly changed. You have kids with these moral, social, sexual, religious teachings fed to them by their social environment — the family, the church, the boy scout groups and so on — saying "you must do this, you must not do that".

These are in conflict — the social environment feeding certain bases and the education system saying "don't believe a damn thing — question it".

Sometimes you get kids of 14—15, when there is this age of querying, and at the same time this tremendous sexual drive awakening, and they find new needs, new wants and new desires — and they say, "I want to do these things". I believe human beings undergo their most strenuous period of challenge between the ages of 14—20. Most of them will overcome that emotional, intellectual, religious instability by their own means. They will find the mysteries of sex, another partner, the satisfaction of achieving their ambitions and so on. If, during this time, you offer them, sanction them a psychological crutch, you will have a massive increase in marijuana smoking.

From my personal experience, there are those who admit that they are psychologically addicted. This is the 2—4% who have found the easy way out.

This is my dilemma.

Spratt: Given these possible costs, associated with marijuana, there are also the benefits — quality control, reduction of

crime, and so on.

Chipp: I agree with all those arguments. Moreover by maintaining the drug laws, you are immediately putting them in the criminal sub-culture. But in balance for the reasons I give I would still be against the legalisation of marijuana.

Spratt: In other words, the costs outweigh the benefits?

Chipp: In my judgement, yes, and I could very well be wrong.

Spratt: Do you, personally, believe that a way of life involving drug use is necessarily an inferior way of life?

Chipp: You could never be accused of asking easy questions I don't know the answer to questions such as yours ... It is a discussion you could have for hours ... where do you begin?

Spratt: Obviously, in some circumstances drug use will cause people problems, but, a priori, can one say that it is an inferior way of life? This judgement has been accepted as a premise by some of those against legalisation, and I personally don't agree with it.

Chipp: I would disagree with that premise too. This is the sort of question that tortures me, because what you are saying is that we, my generation, have given you a world in which there are extraordinarily unpleasant, unpalatable things.

We've given you religious, social, political structures which you can't buck because you're so remote from decision making. The only way for you to live in this world, not of your making, is to gain some solace from a false, distorted hallucinogenic world. Its a very powerful argument and one with which I have sympathy.

Spratt: But I would argue that such a world is not distorted. Our whole social and cultural background, our upbringing have inflicted values upon us, have "distorted" us. All that a drug does is add another cultural influence.

Chipp: I would agree with you.

Students, the draft and the law

Podger: It has been said that the government as a whole has been anti-universities and young people. Arguments continually come up within the House and elsewhere about "irresponsible university louts". Don't you feel that the government itself has been responsible for this attitude?

Chipp: The government is not blameless. From personal experience I have spoken to university audiences of 1000 people, with 100 shouting out four letter words to you from the front seats. As soon as you finish, they cluster around you, not saying 4 letter words anymore, and instead saying, "Mr Chipp, what do you really think about this?"

I think we should be tolerant of people shouting 4 letter words because they are shouting for a reason.

Podger: You are facing an election where your opponent is a draft resister. What are your personal feelings about this and your campaign in this situation?

Chipp: What's his name again?

Podger: Barry Johnson
Chipp: I have tremendous

admiration for him, and will, not at any stage during my campaign, designate him. I don't think I'll be praising him, though I do now, before we get into the hysteria of the campaign, as being a man of conviction. It takes an enormous amount of guts for a man of 21-22 to put his career on the line for a principle.

I think he is misguided, there are other ways of him showing his point of view. But I do believe very strongly that there are people manipulating him who don't give a damn about Barry Johnson, the man. They are the villains in this piece.

Podger: Do you think he should have to face the consequences of 18 months goal?

Chipp: Yes. I will not deny the right of a Barry Johnson or whoever to disobey a law if he thinks it is an unjust law. But if, in our present society, they do this they must be prepared to face the consequences. I say this because I believe in the Rule of Law, and that becoming now almost a hateful term. If you do away with it, the strong gain and the weak suffer.

Alternatively one can change the laws democratically, and we do have many unjust laws.

Spratt: Are you willing to name those laws?

Chipp: Because of collective ministerial responsibility I cannot comment on them but there are some laws which infringe on civil liberties which cannot be justified by any man of goodwill.

The DLP and the election

Podger: It's a long time since the Little Red Schoolbook issue. Do you still find you come under a lot of pressure from DLP Senators because of your liberal ideas? Has it died down?

Chipp: If you are aware of any decreasing pressure from that area, I would be delighted if you could inform me of it, because it would be some relief.

Podger: Do you think there is too much denigration and too little policy in Parliament today?

Chipp: I believe that the Australian electorate is much more satisfying for the politician that 10 years ago. And the quickest way for you to crap off an audience is for you to knock your opponents.

Moreover I believe that 80% of the electorate will vote Liberal or Labour irrespective of policy or the people. And about 20% is the swinging vote of well informed people who care about issues. That is the 20% that will determine the next government of this country.

Postscript

The interview was over, the tape had faithfully recorded the message of the only true liberal on the government benches.

But the finale was yet to come. As Woroni left, Chipp issued an invitation...

Chipp: Come back again some time next year.

Spratt: Same Office?

Chipp: I doubt it!

ECONOMICS

Jim Cairns

Andrew Podger talks with the Labor shadow minister for Trade and Industry



The department of trade

Podger: In terms of your position as shadow Minister for Trade and Manufacturing Industries would you like to tell us what sort of bodies you would set up and how your department would fit in with the tariff board itself?

Cairns: First of all I would like to change the existing situation. You see, whether a manufacturing industry in Australia gets protection in whatever form that might take, is simply a result of a tariff board examination to determine which industries are not economic and efficient. Now I would like to set up a planning section which would go to a lot of trouble to find out what in fact are economic and efficient industries. I want to know what form and structure the industry would have to assume so that we can positively achieve that form and simply not follow a policy of rejecting those who do not pass the test and then allowing them to be hit by the sudden impact of a tariff reduction.

Podger: But you are going a bit further than the planning section. You were talking in terms of control of industries and in terms of planning, quotas and this sort of thing far further than simply just the tariff board.

Cairns: I think the measures we use — tariffs, quotas, subsidies and other forms of action — would be arrived at as a result of the recommendations. I've said that this department's work and conclusions would be constantly subject to critical examination by another section which could be independent like the tariff board. Tariff board members could be in charge of various sections of it. The chairman of the board, who-

ever it might be, could be in charge of the section and it would be critically examining the practical and positive proposals that came from the planning section. The overall result would be that which was determined by the interrelation of the two.

Podger: The two major criticisms made of your suggestions as to the use of tariffs and planning are firstly that you have not taken sufficient account of inflation and secondly that a lot of bureaucracy would be required.

Cairns: For a start it is possible that a policy that I would support may for a time and in a given area, result in higher prices and in a sense it might contribute to inflation but this would have to be weighed up against the overall costs and benefits of the policy. It seems to me that we would be operating to induce the development of industry of a more economic and competitive nature and involving also many other social changes. This in substance would be a very considerable contribution towards solving the problem of inflation in the long term. It might have short term immediate results which would lean the other way but we would be prepared to accept those if we thought the benefits justified them.

Podger: What about the problem of planning and big bureaucracies?

Cairns: I have said that my main purpose of designing a Department of Planning is to encourage participation from industry; from workers; from consumers; from regional groups concerned with maintenance or development of industry; from particular kinds of people — handicapped persons, aboriginals etc. We would hope to get participation from these directly into the section or Department doing the planning. We would

endeavour to mix the indoctrination that occurs and bring in different and new views — the sociologists, behavioural scientists; those concerned with the environment; town planning and so on and bring these in to the department concerned with the planned development of industry. We would try to break down bureaucracy in this way — this would be one of our main objectives.

Other economic policy departments

Podger: You would be in charge of the Department of Trade and Manufacturing Industry. At the moment we have a Department of Labour and National Service, a Department of Immigration, a Treasury Department, and a Department of Primary Industry. Would these Departments all exist as they are or would they change under a Labor Government?

Cairns: Most of them, I think, would remain substantially as they are. It seems to me that one of the most significant changes under a Labor Government is that the ministry would break up into sections that have an internal logic. From what I can make out at present, each Department operates more or less on its own and it claims the right not to be interfered with by other Departments. I think we would move back to the situation that existed under earlier Labor Governments.

One of them would doubtless include Treasury, Trade and Manufacturing Industries, and possibly one or two others and that would be the section dealing mainly with questions of priorities and planning. It would have close relations with other Departments on particular things eg. Labour and National Service would

handle the re-training that I would want to ensure would take place if we were closing down industry in a particular place. The Department of Labour (it wouldn't be Labour and National Service because National Service is going) would handle the provision of new jobs, the transfer of people from one job to another, and it would handle the making of decisions about the payment of transfer allowances that I would require to be paid before I would agree to the closing down of an industry. We'd have very close relations in this respect with the Department of Labour not so close with Immigration. I think Immigration would probably be more closely related to Treasury and the P.M.'s Department.

We would, however, be concerned also to probably transfer those sections of Trade in primary products like wheat and wool to the Minister for Primary Industry to handle. I would handle, as Minister for Trade (if that's what it is) and Manufacturing Industry, trade in manufacturing products and in processed minerals. We would make that division between primary industry and manufacturing industries and similarly we would want to see the same kind of critical evaluation of protective measures, subsidies or whatever they might be, given to primary industries as in fact is given to manufacturing industries. The section I am talking about which, under the control of the Tariff Board members and chairman, would be concerned to make this critical examination. Primary Industries would have to pass the same kind of test as secondary industries.

Podger: One point on that. There was talk at one stage that the Department of Immigration would go and would actually come within the Labour and National Service. Is there any chance of this?

Cairns: Well, National Service is going to go so it will be the Department of Labour but yes, I think that's possible. My feeling is that in the Party at the moment, there is the belief that we need Ministers to subject the Public Service and others to the control and scrutiny of Parliament. It is a mistake, we feel, to reduce Ministers to too small a number and I think the feeling about doing this seems to stem from the Leader, but it is not at present the general feeling of the Party. It is natural for any party to be attracted to the idea of having more Ministers because that means more men will be Ministers but I think also, that real democratic value can come from this. What we need at the moment is more Ministerial scrutiny, more specialization and not less.

Taking over the public service

Podger: In the light of the fact that there has been 20 years of Liberal Government — 20 years of public servants under Liberal government at the senior echelons of government do you think that a Labor government would experience difficulties in sorts of advice it would get and so on?

Cairns: It could be so but I think there is a big body of people in the public service who would be quite happy to see a change of government.

We might run into particular difficulties but if that is so, I would hope the heads of the Departments run into difficulties too.

Podger: Would they go?

Cairns: That remains to be seen — there are plenty of other jobs.

Podger: But for example...

Cairns: No government surely is going to tolerate people who won't work for it.

Refshaug: Would you give the Liberal shadow ministers the same access you propose?

Cairns: Of course, if they wanted it. But you see for a lot of public servants speaking to me in public was always thought of as something which might not be beneficial to their career.

Hartigan: How long do you think it will take the changes you propose to get underway? When you come in in November you will have the public service under you and you will have to overcome a lot of inertia.

Cairns: We will be doing nothing else but trying to handle these changes in the first year.

Podger: How long do you think it will take to get these new groupings and departments into ...?

Cairns: Well into the 2nd year I would think, but within the term so we can start to put it into practice.

Relationship with other ministers

Podger: Could I ask a few more questions about your personal position in the party at the moment? You have no doubts that you will be the Minister for Trade and Manufacturing Industries?

Cairns: None at all.

Podger: It is thought that the present shadow minister will get the Treasurer's position. What is your relationship with shadow Treasurer Frank Crean?

Cairns: Well, ah ... I've known Frank I suppose longer than I've known anyone in the Parliamentary party I should think. I met him around about 1940. By 1946 we were both members of the Fabian Society soon after the war. I have known him very well over that period of time. Frank is a public financial accountant and my attitude to life is quite different to his but I agree with Frank on most questions that concern Labor Party policy.

Podger: Including your philosophies on planning in industries?

Cairns: No, I don't think Frank is as concerned with what I would call constructive planning as I am.

Don Dunstan
Julius Roe talks with
the South Australian
Premier

Labor policies and problems

Roe: One of the main things I want to ask you is that the Labor Government didn't get into power in South Australia until after a long period of Liberal rule, and it looks like the same thing will happen in the Federal sphere. Do you have any ideas what sort of problems this will create?

Dunstan: Well, I imagine there will be some problems in dealing with an administrative structure which has been almost entirely set up under the Liberal/Country Party coalition. In the first place there was some commitment by public servants to policies which they had adopted under the previous Government. There was some sort of personal possessiveness and to get them changed was quite a job.

When I was first in the Ministry 1965-68, there were a number of instances where we would lay down policies as approved by the Government but the public servants involved didn't carry them out. I asked for proposals as to how they would carry out the policies I laid down. All we got was objections. What I have done in the second period of office is to set up a Policy Secretariat in the Premier's Department which is able to go into any department at the behest of a Minister and find out how these policies can be carried out. And so it's a group of commandos, so to speak, who can go into Departments and break barriers of public service conservatism.

Roe: Do you think the Federal Labor Government will have to implement similar policies?

Dunstan: They will have to do something like that.

Roe: Are there any things which you would like to see a Federal Labor Government do which aren't part of their present policies?

Dunstan: I think generally speaking we've hammered out a pretty fair policy. I've certainly been involved in the preparation of Federal policies now for the past 15 years or so, so I don't see any great difficulties on this score. **Roe:** On specific policies, for example Immigration, there is some division within the Labor Party. There is some pressure from certain sections on the ALP to prepare a much more enlightened policy than that carried out by the present government.

Dunstan: I don't think that pressure is very great. In fact at the last Conference, held in Launceston the decision that immigration should not have any criterion of race or colour of skin was carried by 49 votes to 1. These days there is really no substantial opposition within the Labor Party to a non-racial Immigration Policy.

Roe: There must be some things that the Labor Party and you might want to do but which you can't do because it would be unacceptable to the electorate.

Dunstan: One is quite inevitably limited by the fact that we are a reform party operating within a constitutional framework, and the constitutional framework is not understood by the average member of the populace. What he accepts, is that we have to operate within a framework which he does not

understand. There are many things that we'd like to do, e.g. implement orderly marketing, provide adequate over-all industrial legislation and control interstate trade, which the constitution just prevents us from doing at the moment.

Roe: Is there anything in the Federal sphere which a Federal Labor Government would like to do but which they won't be able to do?

Dunstan: Yes, many things, and in particular the control of the economy. Under the present Federal Constitution the instruments which the Federal Government uses for the control of the economy are very blunt indeed. The recommendations of the All-Party Committee on Constitutional Review in 1959 make it quite clear that the Federal Government ought to have effective security and exchange controls. Thus it would have the power to control the direction of priorities in investment and the like.

Law reform

Roe: Some members of the Labor Party might like to see things like Homosexual Law Reform, legalisation of marijuana and other issues that don't have popular support but they can't carry them out. Do you see this as some source of division within the party?

Dunstan: On matters like ALR and HLR, the Labor Party does not adopt any policy. This is because there are quite marked divisions of opinion within the Party. For instance here in South Australia the Party is quite divided about ALR. The majority of the Party Parliamentary members are in favour of the present laws, i.e. the status quo. My deputy leader would like to return to conditions which existed previously, allowing for very little in the way of abortion at all. I, on the other hand, am in favour of abortion upon request up until the viability of the foetus or at any rate until the end of the 12 weeks period. That's for each of us to decide.

Similarly, as for HLR, that's a matter of individual conscience. I should think that the majority of the members of the party would be in favour of it. I've always been in favour of it and I've always made that clear — it's a personal opinion and I'm not expressing my Party's opinion.

On all of these matters of course, it's a question of maximising your popular support and carrying the populace with you in what you decide, and often that's a matter of educating the public over a long period. It is a limitation on the Party in doing it. The Labor party, for instance, for years has made it a matter of policy that it is opposed to the death penalty whilst being aware of the lack of the majority of popular support on that issue.

Woroni: Is the issue of national service in some ways like that? Your son being arrested for handing out Don't Register leaflets created some stir in the press in South Australia. Do you think that affects your popularity?

Dunstan: No, I don't think so, there are some people who would object naturally enough, but I think mainly these are people who wouldn't agree with our general outlook and

policies anyway. It was, of course, played up on the basis of the Liberal Party always attacking us over Law and Order but I think that's a rather dead issue since the inadequacies of Senator Greenwood's dealings with the Ustacha have become public.

Party organisation

Woroni: Having a Federal Labor Government is obviously going to affect the State Government in some way. Do you think, first of all, it will mean that more State Labor Parties will be elected?

matters of national consequence at the national level.

Woroni: So you don't think it's going to limit your powers or your field of action?

Dunstan: No, I don't think that would be the case. Certainly, there are some things which I think they will take over from us. For instance, I gather that the Federal Government would be prepared to take over the State railways. I'd be prepared to give our railways to them on a platter tomorrow! It would relieve me, ie the non-metropolitan Railway Services, of a deficit in the region of \$13m. in running the railways. But the Federal Labor Government

decentralist act than anything the Liberal Party is proposing.

Labor and the worker

Roe: The Labor Party has been traditionally regarded as a worker's party. In what way do you think your Government has shown itself to be a Government of the workers and for the workers?

Dunstan: Well, the policies which we have produced are of obvious benefit to working people. This is not confined to industrial legislation. We have introduced industrial legislation — we've got the best Worker's Compensation Act in the Commonwealth. The industrial code which we have just introduced in accordance with a request from the Trades and Labour Council means that we constantly consult with them on a whole series of issues like industrial safety and conditions of working people. We've markedly improved conditions within the public service in S.A., which is an incentive to private industry; we have consultative bodies on workers' participation and management which are currently working; and we keep very close contact with the Working Class Movement. I go personally to factory gate meetings all the time. I have union leaders in to talk to me constantly in the office, just to discuss problems of mutual interest and we have a series of formal consultative bodies which ensure that we keep in close touch with the working class movement.

In industrial disputes in South Australia we do intervene, to achieve settlement and to get benefits for the workers. Despite all the things that our opponents have said we have about 9% of the workforce and about 2.7% of time lost in industrial disputes and this is largely because we have created conditions where disputes can be resolved.

Nationalisation

Roe: A Federal Labor Government, would be involved with the Unions just as much. Do you think a Federal Labor Government will be as strong on these matters? In particular are you entirely satisfied with the Labor Party's watered down policy on nationalization?

Dunstan: There are many ways of helping the workers and controlling the economy apart from nationalisation. Nationalisation has traditionally been associated with socialism but socialism is a very wide thing. There is a huge gulf between socialism as the democratic socialists of the Labor Party understand it, and socialism as the Communists understand it. The old Labor Party policy on nationalisation was inconsistent and riddled with holes and I am satisfied that the present policy is much better.

Law and order

Roe: South Australia has a new Police Commissioner since the September Moratorium demonstration in 1970. Is there any connection between these two events?

Dunstan: No, of course not. The old Commissioner was due for retirement and I don't think the new Commissioner has substantially any different



Dunstan: I think it may have some influence. The Federal Government is certainly going to supply more in the way of the planned use of natural resources and planned development, whereas the Liberal Government has at present no national fuel policy. I certainly haven't been able to get one out of them. The proposals for development in Australia by the present Commonwealth Government have been utterly haphazard; there has been no effective water conservation policy for the whole of the Commonwealth.

Planning for the present Federal Government has been a dirty word. For the State Governments who are prepared to be involved jointly with the Federal Government in planning the development of resources, there are going to be real pay-offs and this State is going to be obviously a polit state for much of the Federal Labor Government's policies.

Woroni: The ALP has been traditionally more centralist than the Liberal Party.....

Dunstan: Only in the necessity of making decisions on

will carry out the kind of national planning which was initiated by the Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction in the previous Labor Government. If we'd gone ahead with that regional planning policy 20 odd years ago we'd be the premier industrial nation of our entire region and be able to contribute our due assistance to the developing nations in a way which we are not able to do now.

Planning's a dirty word. In 1949 all the plans and involvements for the regions were torn up except for the Snowy Mountains Authority — that was the one thing that was left.

The present Federal Government now is talking about planning only on the eve of a general election; of course the Labor Party's been talking about it for years. The Labor Party does believe in consultation with people at every elected level. In the Labor Party's policies, the proposals that local governments and regions of states that are under particular disabilities, should have their situation come before the Grants Commission and that is a very much more

COMMENT

policies. However, in the intervening period between Commissioners we limited his powers and brought the Commissioner under our control.

Roe: What is your attitude towards demonstrations?

Dunstan: We have the most liberal policy towards demonstrations anywhere. People in South Australia must apply for permission to hold processions and this permission must be granted by law except where it infringes upon other peoples rights. For instance we obviously can't allow a protest procession down Rundle Street at 4 o'clock on a weekday afternoon.

Roe: However, you still have a Summary Offences Act and other acts which limit demonstrations and which maybe used to make them disperse?

Dunstan: We have to be able to control processions when they limit other peoples freedom. We have to protect the public even against our own policies, as was the case with the Springbok demonstrations.

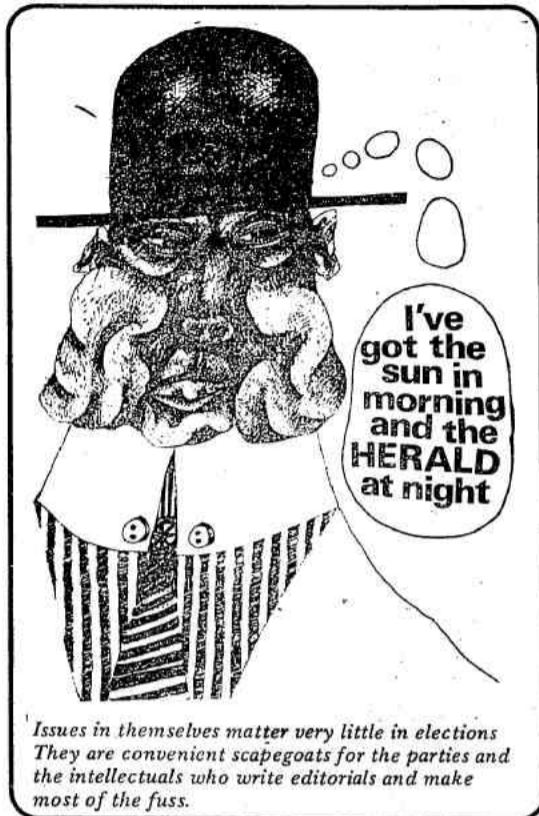
Roe: However, some people believe that demonstrations are a rather special situation and people should not necessarily be arrested in demonstrations for acts they might be arrested for in a different situation. I'm thinking for instance, of the use of offensive language.

Dunstan: We have to arrest people if they break the law. The law about offensive language is based on popular standards and feelings. I personally don't find any language which you could say to me offensive. However, we have to implement this law which is based upon popular standards.

Roe: There has been some criticism of the police force over their attitudes towards homosexuality in SA, which has arisen as a result of the Duncan case. Does your Government intend to do anything as a result of this?

Dunstan: I can't comment on this matter, as it is the subject of a Commission of Inquiry. However, I can say that we have brought in three detectives from Scotland Yard as independent investigators in this matter, on the advice of the Police Commissioner. I am, of course, very concerned particularly since 3 policemen mentioned have since resigned from the force. We don't want people harrasing and attacking homosexuals because they know they won't take it to the police.

Henry Mayer
Professor of Politics,
Sydney University.



Foss: Professor Mayer, do you think issues in general make or break elections in Australia?

Mayer: I would say no.

Foss: If this is the case, why do the parties make such a fuss about issues?

Mayer: Because politicians constantly have to pretend that they can alter, influence and determine events. It is impossible for a political leader of either party to say 'look I couldn't help this, or I'm sorry this went wrong in spite of me, or I could do nothing about it'.

Politicians have to pretend, by the very nature of politics and by what is expected of them, to be entirely voluntary-istic, to be able to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. Therefore they can't (and this is my second point) say that voting is basically determined by factors outside our control — whether they be class or family or habit or whatever, which are fixed and can only be in a minor way influenced. Hence they have to constantly highlight rationality, discussion, even admitting all distortions and pretend that people are much more literate, issue oriented, and involved than in fact they are.

Foss: So what you are implying is that people in Australia still think in terms of fidelity to the party?

Mayer: This apathy is getting somewhat less now in so far as you can trust the surveys.

Undoubtedly there is some evidence that a higher proportion of people are tending to become more volatile, but the party is still the overwhelming thing. Basically the Party can be treated for 70 to 75% of the people as an inherited factor: as if you had green hair or spayed feet or whatever.

Research shows if both parents were of the same persuasion (it doesn't work if father was labor and mummy lib, and they constantly talked about it. — then you're likely to be a swinger yourself) that you will vote like your parents or tend to if the relationship you have with them is basically stable.

Foss: Has the party system worked in America in the past? It seems to me America is less

polarised into parties than say the British system is. If it has worked in the past, have issues become more important in the US and have, in fact, issues won and lost elections in recent times?

Mayer: I won't try to answer your first question because we'll get into a long discussion of criteria.

In answer to your second question: Yes, overall that definitely seems to be the case. I would also say that it does seem that the existing party structures are subject to basic rearrangement; that the coalition resting behind the major parties are changing with the issues; and that issue oriented politics are on the up in the US.

Foss: Has the kind of issues, much recently?

Mayer: The basic trouble really is that you have two kinds of things called issues. One which I call leader's issues and voter's issues, i.e. what the guys on top are saying, what the newspapers are saying, what TV is saying the elections are all about. You will notice that all sides don't agree what that is and that they have different priorities and different lists. One guy says that it is green sheep and another that it is about candlewax.

Then secondly, there is not much evidence that the issues put out by the leaders are the same issues that people think about, in so far as they think about issues at all. In fact I would say that there is instinctive evidence that an increasingly wider gap between leaders issues and voters issues is coming into existence. By this I mean that the parties are increasingly failing to take up issues in the minds of voters and I don't mean just issues in the minds of young voters. It seems to me that there is general alienation — to use that boo word which I don't think means very much — a fedupness with the political system where people vaguely feel that these guys out there are not taking care of what really concerns them. It seems to be impossible for politicians to retranslate into normal political jargon what people call "quality of life" issues.

Taking it differently, you

must think of your political system as a thing that can handle only certain types of problems. This is a very important point about issues.

Foss: Do you think voters are aware of this?

Mayer: The word 'aware' is unfortunate, because it is much more of an unconscious perception or a vague feeling in their bones. There is some evidence to suggest that the general populace is becoming aware of the lack of communication.

Foss: What are the important issues in this coming Federal election and with what parties are they associated with?

Mayer: I can't answer that one. All I could do is quote the latest public opinion polls. But what I want to stress is that the polls apart from ANOP (Australian National Opinion Polls) have made no attempt to find out how strongly people feel about various issues. Otherwise you get this long list of ten to fifteen questions and you find that say 86% of the people worry about "Joe Cheese" but you are never told how much they worry and what would they do about it. ANOP have made a fairly crude but I think so far the best attempt to bring out some intensity factor.

There is some evidence — to avoid your question and to answer part of it at the same time — that there seems to be a certain volatility in the definition of what an issue is. In plain English, I think that generally none of the issues for the moment cut very deep. They are partly blown-up by the media and partly blown-up by the fact that the parties constantly talk about them. The people's feelings are crystallised into saying this is about unemployment or this is about foreign policy. In another way; the number of people who feel very intensely about anything in politics is very small.

Foss: It is quite interesting that one reads in editorials and political cartoons that issues are in fact mattering. For example; recently in Time magazine there appeared a cartoon in which McGovern was seen with various issues sticking out from behind him such as abortion, homosexuality and censorship. I think that very much the same thing could be said about the Labor Party's position here.

Mayer: But this is to be expected.

Assume that you are a bloody journalist. What do you write about? You have to write this way. But I don't believe that what is being said in the newspapers is actually the case.

I have some evidence, of Australian society that makes me feel that any degree of political awareness is a very small one indeed. What is happening is that your intellectuals talk with other intellectuals who write these bloody editorials which 1% reads. They constantly over-intellectualise what ordinary people feel, and what most of the people are concerned with. Don't forget that it is surely a pretty obvious factor of Australian society, including students, how inarticulate they are and how difficult it is to get most of them to say anything. You and I, not in any elitist sense but in an ordinary statistical sense, are a typical of Australian society.

Hence I do think that the whole thing is slanted or pushed and that one repeats to me what one has read in the newspapers and I answer in similar terms. Generally speaking, most people are much more inarticulate and vague and moody and they feel things in a very loose sense.

Foss: How do you explain such a situation in which it appears that most DLP supporters don't go along with DLP foreign policy? How can this sort of ambivalence work?

Mayer: This is a typical attitude. By going through the 2 to 3 thousand polls since 1940 one sees that consistently eg Liberal voters on various occasions supported price control, eg the majority of ALP voters are to the right of the ALP leadership on all issues including socialisation, strikes and nationalisation and not to the left.

This works because people who vote for parties have very little to do with issues. It is a fact that people aren't aware of in any precise sense what their parties stand on any one issue. People vote or support parties in terms of loose bundles for the vaguest of reasons.

Hence it is a puzzle to you really because you assume that there is some correlation between voting and having some knowledge in support of issues. Now I assume the opposite. To me the unusual and strange thing would be the type of person who votes for say the most extreme party — leave out the communists as there are 3 communist parties — take DLP if you like. The guy who is aware of the DLP policy on a number of issues and votes for them because of it, in my opinion and as some surveys done at Macquarie University have shown, would be about 1/3 of the total DLP voters. Two thirds would be protest voters, people who intend to vote Liberal. Material from the Macquarie survey shows that these people when asked afterwards — the crucial 2/3rds of them — can't remember whether they voted DLP or Liberal. That is one of the reasons why the polls almost constantly understate the predictions of how many people will vote DLP. The picture of the DLP'er as a mad, catholic fanatic who is like Bob Santamaria, is complete nonsense. What you have is a couple of guys like Santamaria — totally atypical because whatever you think of him, he is an intellectual, articulate man with a coherent policy — and the ordinary DLP voter who is as confused and muddled as the ordinary Liber or Labor or, I should think communist supporters. The number of articulate ideologues in Australia would be very small indeed.

You can see this in operation taking another non-party thing, with the new left in Australia. By the time the bon mots of Marcuse eg filter down to the people what you get is simplified pebble like slogans which are Marcuse 75 times watered down.

Let me finally say that issues in themselves matter very little in elections. They are convenient scapegoats for the parties and the intellectuals who write editorials and make most of the fuss. I don't say this is a good or even desirable thing. Let us hope that the damnable Australian political apathy will eventually become a rare animal.

THE A.C.T.

Pat Eatock

Liz Reid talked to Pat Eatock, an aboriginal who is standing as an independent for the ACT seat, and wrote this profile.



For the first time in recent electoral history the residents of the A.C.T. are to have a chance to register a protest vote: to protest against the mistreatment by the present Government of aborigines and aboriginal issues and against its dismal indifference to problems affecting women, workers and children. An aborigine, Mrs Pat Eatock, has declared her intention to stand as an independent candidate at the forthcoming Federal elections. Her many-faceted platform is: Aboriginal issues: land rights, representation, health, education; Women's issues: repeal of abortion laws, available contraceptives, representation; Workers' issues: participation and control by workers, poverty, repeal of the Crimes Act; Children's issues: student participation, daycare centre.

Specific A.C.T. issues which concern her are: Rents: in Canberra 45% of flats and town house dwellings are occupied by groups, which indicates that rents are so high that individuals are unable to afford to pay; Representation: the need for a second federal seat for the A.C.T.; Service industries: low wages, no rent subsidies; Draft Criminal Code: an independent body, open to interested lay people and groups, should be set up to examine the proposed Code, many of whose provisions are retrograde and illconceived; Welfare: employment bureau and welfare assistance should be independent agencies.

As an aboriginal and a woman, mother of six children including one severely handicapped child, at present supporting herself and her youngest daughter on the dole, Pat bases her platform on her own experiences both present and past. She is deeply concerned that these issues be discussed: other candidates are to a greater or lesser extent, concerned about winning or losing votes. It is the politicians, and not the people, who decide which issues will be-

come election issues. Thus a vote for her will be a way of protesting against this, a way of forcing these issues into the Parliament.

A short while ago there was a plethora of Government statements praising the interest that they were taking in aboriginal affairs. But many of these statements were either misleading or false, much of the help was harmful. And even so many of the Government members were making statements such as "There is nothing worth preserving in the aboriginal culture except perhaps some bark paintings" or "land rights is equivalent to apartheid". In an attempt to publicise this and to get more information to the general public Pat announced herself as an intending candidate.

The aborigines, she says, are a proud, philosophical race. Their values and attitudes are not materialistic: they are not much given to excessive effort and hard labour for above all they value intellectual activity. It was not by accident but rather by design that in the past they lived in complete ecological harmony with their land.

The proposed Government scheme for buying land and leasing it to the aborigines, a scheme whereby they become tenants on their own land, denies to the aboriginal people the right of inheritance. The land is their spirit home, intimately bound up with their ancestry. To insist on land ownership is to demand what is already theirs. Without land the detribalised in the country will continue to be the flotsam and jetsam of Australia and those in the cities will be economically depressed and rejected.

Pat herself was brought up in white suburban Brisbane. Her part aboriginal father tried to live white: the acceptance of white values led him to hide his aboriginal ancestry and this led him to over-compensate and demand respect

from others. But he and the family were always fearful of friendship for fear of exposure. The resulting tension eventually destroyed his sanity. Later on, after her marriage, Pat witnessed the same shame and fear in the Green Valley area of Sydney. Here, there were many aborigines forced into the town by unemployment, trying desperately to live on white terms, frightened of making approaches to neighbours for fear of discovery and frightened of neighbour's approaches to them. Many preferred to claim part Maori ancestry, for this was acceptable whilst part aboriginal was not. Pat's children were brought up to be aware of themselves as aborigines and proud of it but nevertheless after her first few weeks at school Pat's eldest daughter reported that she now knew all about aborigines: "they pull little girls' pants down". For these hidden people, as for all aborigines, land and representation would be the beginning of a new life. Because of this, Pat advocates reserved seats for aboriginals such that each aboriginal elector has a compulsory vote for his regional electorate and a voluntary vote for his aboriginal electorates. This is a rejection of the now almost vacuous cliché "One man, one vote" but the alternative of allowing an aborigine to choose which electorate to vote within she feels makes the aborigine vulnerable to pressure to move into the white society.

At the time when Pat became pregnant with her last child she had had, for seven and a half years, a severely handicapped son. Her then youngest child had contracted Golden Staph Pneumonia at the age of three months and it had left him moderately to severely handicapped and severely epileptic. Despite medical recommendations and at great emotional and financial expense, Pat and her husband had decided to keep

the child within the family. The child developed much further than it was ever believed possible: he became a happy laughing uncontrollable child. So Pat decided to have an abortion: they feared that if she had the baby the other child would harm it. Not being able to afford an illegal abortion, she signed herself into the Rydelmere psychiatric unit, hysterically threatening drugs, suicide and all the rest of the degrading circus that women are forced to undergo to get a legal abortion. The policy of the Unit is to admit the woman for a few days to calm her down meanwhile exposing her to the horror and intimidation of a psychiatric ward. Then the abortion is refused and the woman defeated, leaves. After three frightening days Pat was told to go home and only after she asked was she told that her request had been refused and that as they too agreed that it was impossible to have a baby in the house, the alternative should be obvious to her. With much anguish the son was later placed in an institution.

Sam (Amanda) was born October 1st last year, and Pat was then, sadly free to take part in the aboriginal movement. She attended her first aboriginal conference when Sam was nine weeks old, the NSW Aboriginal State Conference. Then followed trips to reserves, articles on aboriginal problems, the first meeting of what was later to become the Black Moratorium committee and last Easter the FCAATSI Conference in Alice Springs. After her return from this she came to Canberra but, liking it, she settled here with Sam.

The Black Moratorium, Ningla Ana, on July 14th attracted some 600 people including a large group of aborigines from Cowra who in participating regained a sense of control and independence. The children danced the length of the march and the shy timid women, finding a self-consciousness, sang. Meanwhile Pat had been accepted as a part of the Aboriginal Embassy and about a month before the first attack on it (July 20th) took over as Secretary/Treasurer. The three attacks on the Embassy, at all of which she was present, she sees as a deliberate attempt to destroy an effective and peaceful protest, a protest with which aborigines identified. Thus each blow struck was a blow to the aboriginal people. The Embassy demonstration was under the complete control of these people through the Black Caucus and to these alone, the aborigines, goes the credit for it not ending in violent confrontation with bloodshed and loss of life.

If Labour comes to power this election Pat can see it being faced with exactly the same measures as the present government. There will be an improvement but they will not be free to do as much as they would like to do. Her second preferences are to go to Kep Enderby (ALP) who, although harnessed by the party, she considers to be the ablest of the remaining candidates. It is obvious that a large protest vote would strengthen his hand.

But whatever the party affiliation of the voter Pat feels that people concerned about these issues should make use of this rare opportunity to register a protest vote; a vote symbolic of everyone's desire to have more control over their lives and destiny.